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Into the light

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INTO THE LIGHT

A study of the changing burial customs at Crustumerium
in the 7th and 6th centuries BC

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RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

INTO THE LIGHT

A study of the changing burial customs at Crustumerium in the 7th and 6th centuries BC

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
rector magnificus prof. dr. E. Sterken
en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

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door

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geboren op 19 augustus 1984
te Amsterdam

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To my family…

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Thanks are also due to Francesco di Gennaro, who as *Responsabile* of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (SSBAR) invited the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) to participate in the excavations at Crustumerium in 2006 and has facilitated the field work campaigns in many of the following years. This study has benefitted a great deal from the numerous stimulating conversations and discussions we have had and I thank him for being my second co-promotor. I thank Paola Filippini, who replaced Francesco di Gennaro at the SSBAR in 2012, for her input in the project and the nice conversations we have had. Of course I also have to thank Barbara Belelli Marchesini. Her input regarding the study of the grave gifts and her comments on a draft version of this dissertation were invaluable. I thank her for her time and patience with me.

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The road to a doctor's degree is not always straight and every PhD student is bound to encounter some rough patches along the way. I am very grateful to my parents who never tired from encouraging me and helping me overcome the problems that I sometimes believed to be unresolvable.

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INTRODUCTION

The settlement of Crustumerium emerged as early as the 10th or 9th century BC.[1] The settlement had proto-urban characteristics from the outset, being located on an orographic homogeneous territory (of about 63 ha), defended on three sides by the natural morphology of the landscape. The vicinity of the floodplains of the Tiber river and the presence of at least two natural springs provided the settlement with easy access to water. The river functioned as a natural border of the settlement's territory and as a medium of communication with Fidenae and Rome and the Sabine settlements upstream.[2] Crustumerium developed into a prosperous town owing to its control over part of the Via Salaria and the route that led from Etruria to Campania via the deepened road through the settlement. The infrastructure enabled close contact with other settlements in the Etruscan, Faliscan and Sabine region as well as with the southern part of Latium Vetus.

The earliest archaeological remains referring to occupation date to Latial period IIB2.[3] The settlement flourished in the Orientalising and Archaic period, roughly from the second half of the 8th until the 6th century BC[4] and would have been inhabited by 3000[5] to 6000[6] people.

According to the historical sources referring to Crustumerium, the city of Rome would have conquered the settlement in 499 BC.[7] Quickly afterwards, it was almost completely abandoned by its original inhabitants.[8] From then on, Crustumerium would have functioned as a military outpost, controlling attacks from Rome's enemies; the Veientines, the Sabines and the cities united in the Lega Latina.[9] After the defeat of Veii in 396 BC, the settlement would have lost its strategic function, because Sabine invasions were by then no longer feared.[10] Around 390 BC the site once again formed the scenery of a battle, namely the famous battle at Allia, in which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls.[11] At the beginning of the 1st century AD, the territory of Crustumerium was added to the *municipium* of Fidenae.[12]

Geomorphology

The territory of Crustumerium consists of a relief system with rolling hills and serrated edges. The hills rise about 30 to 100 m above the Tiber plain, but there are some (exceptional) elevations of 150 m.[13] The landscape is situated in the south-eastern part of the volcanic district of the Monti Sabatini.[14]

Many small streams and canals characterize the area around the settlement; the Fosso di Sette Bagni, the Fosso di Malpasso and the Fosso Maestro. This hydrographical system has severely eroded the volcanic soil, which has resulted in an irregular, hilly landscape with several smaller relief systems, independent of one another.[15] The settlement of Crustumerium is situated on the Marcigliana Vecchia hill, forming part of the Toretta and Campo Grande hill system, rising about 80 m above the Tiber plain.[16] The slopes have an inclination of about 30 to 40 degrees.[17]

The bedrock of the entire settlement area and the Sasso Bianco burial ground consists of a tuff type

1 di Gennaro 2001a, 459.
2 Amoroso 2002a, 304-325 and Amoroso 2004, 165.
3 Amoroso 2002a, 300-303 and Amoroso 2004, 165. A few pottery fragments found by the British School at Rome during an investigation of the settlement (Kahane et al. 1968, 17), might date to the Early or Middle Bronze Age (Amoroso 2002a, 300, note 19; di Gennaro & Amoroso 2004,151, fig. 1). The SSBAR identified shards dating to the Early or Middle Bronze Age 1 in one of the pits dug out for the placement of electricity pylons in 2007 (Barbaro & Borzetti in Barbaro et al. 2008, 11).
4 di Gennaro 2001a, 459. Cuniculi were dug out in the course of the 6th century to facilitate the growing agricultural activities and the expanding population of Crustumerium (Amoroso 2002a, 315).
5 Nijboer & Willemsen 2012, 36-37.
6 di Gennaro et al. 1999, 5; Togninelli 2006, 36. The authors do not specify when the town would have reached this number of inhabitants.
7 Livy II, 19; Amoroso 1997, 34-35; Amoroso 2008, 1.
8 As can be deduced from the distribution maps of archaeological material from the early 5th century onwards (Amoroso 2002b, fig. 1-3).
9 di Gennaro 2001a, 459; Togninelli 2006, 37.
10 Amoroso 2002a, 323.
11 Livy *Ab urbe condita lib. V*, 37, 8. From then on, the defeat was commemorated on the 21st of July with a feast called Lucaria (Togninelli 2006, 40).
12 Amoroso 2002a, 325.
13 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 49.
14 Interdonato et al. 2008, 320.
15 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 50.
16 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 65.
17 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 41; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 65.

named *Tufo di Sacrofano*, named after the nearby volcano.[18] In some areas, this layer has been covered by other types of sedimentation; the top layer of the bedrock of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground and part of the settlement area consists of a thick layer of pyroclastic material, called *Tufo della Storta*.[19] Underneath this layer, there is a deposit called *Tufo rosso a scorie nere*, which has been identified along the Fosso della Formicola, south of the Tenuta Marcigliana.[20]

Because of the fact that Crustumerium was situated on completely eroded tuff soil,[21] the land was very fertile and therefore well suited for growing various types of crops.[22] Thanks to the rather soft consistency of the bedrock the digging of graves must have been relatively easy. The on-going investigations at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have revealed, however, that the quality of the tuff bedrock differs considerably from place to place.Whereas the tuff bedrock in the southern district of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground is generally of a good, consistent quality, the poor consistency of the tuff in the northern area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground (the so-called Fossato Area) has caused the collapse of many of the subterranean vaults (niches, loculi and chambers).

GIA investigations at Crustumerium

Thanks to an invitation of Francesco di Gennaro, who was at that time *Responsabile* of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (SSBAR) of the 4th municipium of Rome, the Groningen Institute of Archaeology (GIA) was able to participate in the investigation of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground at Crustumerium. The first excavation campaign in the summer of 2006 was headed by Peter Attema and Albert Nijboer who worked with a team of students of the GIA. Since then, the institute has performed excavations at Monte Del Bufalo each summer, up until 2013. During these 8 campaigns more than 50 tombs have been unearthed, dating between the early 7th and the end of the 6th century BC. Each excavation has been carried out in close cooperation with the SSBAR and has benefitted a great deal from their experienced specialists in the field.

Aims

This dissertation has been written with two main aims in mind. The first aim has always been to study and analyse the tombs that have been investigated at the Monte Del Bufalof burial ground in Crustumerium by the GIA over the past years. To this end the excavation data collected during the campaigns of 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 have been incorporated into two catalogues; one contains a description and drawing of each tomb and all the depositions, the other contains descriptions and drawings of the objects found inside the graves. After 2011, two more excavation campaigns have taken place, but time did not permit to incorporate the data collected during the investigations of 2012 and 2013.

In order to focus the scientific direction of this dissertation, a more specific research aim was added while the database was beginning to take shape. Since the excavations performed by the GIA have yielded a fair amount of tombs dating to Latial period IVB and/or the Archaic period, and since even more tombs dating to this time frame have been investigated by the SSBAR, we dispose of a fairly large dataset that could shed light on the funerary customs of this period, a topic on which so far relatively little is known.

The tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period have long formed a problematic category in the study of mortuary data of Central Italy, and more specifically Latium Vetus, due to the fact that they (almost completely) lacked funerary gifts. As regards the necropolis on the Esquiline Hill for example, von Duhn postulated that the tombs dating to the 6th and 5th century BC had not surfaced in the excavations.[23] In reference to other sites, scholars have hypothesised that the tombs pertaining to this period had been destroyed, or that they had never been created in the first place.[24] Colonna has stressed, however, that the tombs have often been overlooked because they were difficult to recognise due to the absence or rarity of funerary gifts.[25] Thanks to his article '*Un aspetto oscuro del Lazio antico. Le tombe del VI-V secolo*' of 1977,[26] archaeologists have grown more aware of the characteristics of the graves dating to the IVB/Archaic period and are now able to recognise them. As a result, the dataset of tombs ascribed to this period has increased considerably over the past decades and scholars have given much thought to the phenomena that caused the impoverishment of the

18 Interdonato et al. 2008, 320.
19 Interdonato et al. 2008, 320.
20 Interdonato et al. 2008, 320.
21 The fertility of Crustumerium has been noted by Cicero (Cicero, Pro Flacco 72).
22 Several authors refer to the delicious pears and olives from Crustumerium (Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, XXIII, 115; Verg., Georg., II, 87-88; Serv., Ad Georg., 87-88; Cels. II, 24, 2; Col. V, 10, 18, Macrob., Sat., III, 19, 6; Varro, De re rustica lib. I, XV). A variety of olives was even called 'crustumia' (Isid., Etym., 17, 7, 67).
23 Colonna 1977, 133, citing Von Duhn 1924.
24 Colonna 1977, 135-136.
25 This hypothesis had already been postulated by Pinza in 1905 (Colonna 1977, 136-137).
26 Colonna 1977, 133-149.

graves.[27] However, the sample of IVB/Archaic tombs known to date is still rather small, especially in comparison to the large number of tombs that have been attributed to Latial period III and IVA, suggesting that very few individuals received a former burial in the IVB/Archaic period, and that people must have disposed of most of their dead in a way that is not archaeologically traceable.

The fact that investigations at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have yielded such a large number of IVB/Archaic tombs, resulting in an elaborate dataset, calls for an in depth analysis of the characteristics of these tombs and the way they differ from the graves dating to the previous periods. This dissertation aims at investigating the way the funerary customs changed from Latial period IVA to the IVB/Archaic period at Crustumerium, and attempts to reconstruct the phenomena that brought these changes about.

This publication represents the first step in the investigation of this period. A more integrated study of the archaeological data and the socio-political background of the time will appear as part of the *Corollaria Crustumina* (vol. 2) and will be dealt with in the synthesis of the NWO project (*The People and the State. Material culture, social structure and political centralisation in the region around Rome from 800 to 450 BC, the case of Crustumerium*) conducted by the Groningen Institute of Archaeology.

Outline

This dissertation is divided into 5 chapters, preceded by an introduction and concluded by a short summary. Chapter 1 contains a short description of the research performed at the various burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium and deals with the most important research outcomes of the various teams who have worked at the site in the past few decennia. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework used in the present research which is built around mortuary variability. The chapter deals with the four most important mortuary domains individually, highlighting their research potential and the inherent biases.

The first part of Chapter 3 contains a short description of the chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium between Latial period IIB and the Archaic period. The second part of the chapter provides a detailed comparative analysis of the way the ritual customs changed at the burial grounds of Crustumerium between Latial period IVA and the IVB/Archaic period, zooming in on various aspects of the burial ritual as they have been encountered in the GIA and SSBAR excavations.

Because the availability of detailed (published) information on Latial period IVA tombs from Crustumerium is limited, the analysis of the characteristics of this period has been predominantly based on a study of the tombs excavated by the GIA. However, since this sample of tombs is relatively small and because most of the tombs pertaining to it were located on a relatively small area within the larger Monte Del Bufalo burial ground (namely the Fossato Area), it should be stressed that the sample is by no means representative of *all* tombs dating to this period found at Crustumerium. The IVA sample has mainly been used as a backdrop for the developments noted in the IVB/Archaic period for which a much larger dataset is available, enabling a study of several remarkable developments in the funerary ritual.

In order to determine whether the changes in the burial customs noted at Crustumerium represent a purely local phenomenon or rather a region-wide development, a comparative analysis of burial data from sites in the vicinity of Crustumerium is presented in Chapter 4. It looks at burial grounds in Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region, again looking at various aspect of the burial ritual.

Chapter 5 aims at investigating the principles behind the changing burial customs, both at Crustumerium and in the wider region, exploring various different explanatory veins. The chapter starts with a short description of the socio-political background of the IVB/Archaic period. It then describes the most cited explanation for the decreasing funerary wealth, namely the issue of sumptuary legislation recorded on the Twelve Table, focussing on the problems adhered to this explanatory model. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the explorations in on a number of alternative explanations for the reasons behind the changing burial cusoms, looking at ideology, status affirmation, and alterations connected urbanisation of the and state formation processes.

27 See for example the article "Dall'esibizione al rigore: analisi dei sepolcreti laziali tra VII e VI sec. a.C." by Bartoloni, Taloni and Nizzo (Bartoloni et al. 2009), which compares the funerary data from three Latial burial grounds (Osteria dell'Osa, Castel di Decima and Marino - Riserva del Truglio).

1

RESEARCH HISTORY

1.1 Introduction

The first in depth archaeological investigation of the settlement of Crustumerium took place between 1974 and 1976, when Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli performed a survey on the presupposed territory of the ancient site (see fig. 1.1).[28] The survey covered the whole settlement area, the burial grounds and the surrounding territory. The results of this research have been published in the second book of the *Latium Vetus* series in 1980.[29] The first proper investigations of the burial grounds of Crustumerium took place in 1987, when the Soprintendenza excavated a few tombs at both Sasso Bianco and Monte Del Bufalo. Angelo Amoroso carried out a new survey on the territory of Crustumerium between October 1995 and August 1996.[30] His survey did not cover the funerary areas.[31]

1.2 The funerary areas

Crustumerium was surrounded by several burial grounds,[32] some of which must have been in use from the late 9th century onwards.[33] To date, sepulchral areas have been identified to the north, northeast, southeast and west of the settlement.[34] The areas are named after the toponyms of their location; respectively Campo Grande, Sasso Bianco, Monte Del Bufalo, Cisterna Grande and Marcigliano. The presence of tombs at numerous locations outside of the settlement area has been attested by surveys, excavations and the mapping of illicit activities.[35] A combined analysis of these data indicates that the slopes surrounding the urban plateau and the opposite geological units must have been occupied by tombs, forming a belt around the settlement.[36] The areas to the north and southeast, near the roads leading to the Sabine, Etruscan and Latin regions, had probably been used more intensively.[37] Large strips of 'empty' agricultural land must have delimited the different funerary areas (see fig. 1.2).[38]

This chapter provides an overview of the research history of all burial grounds identified around Crustumerium. As will become clear from the

28 Their research was part of a larger programme initiated by professor Massimo Pallottino of the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche and designed to investigate the proto-historic and archaic remains of the Latin communities in the area south of the lower course of the Tiber; i.e. *Latium Vetus* (di Gennaro 1999b, 50; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 37). The results of the subsequent investigations have been published in the *Latium Vetus* series, issued by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

29 *Crustumerium*, Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980. A preliminary publication appeared in 1974-1975; Individuazione e topografia di Crustumerium, in *RPAA* vol. XLVII, 37-53.

30 He covered an area of 181 ha, confined by the Via Salaria in the west (between the 16 and 18 km mark), a small valley in the east and the south-eastern part by the Fosso della Formicola and the valley of the Collina Marcigliana (Amoroso 2002a, 287-290). The investigation was part of a larger project, initiated by the University of Rome 'La Sapienza' and the Soprintendenza that aimed to investigate the area between the Aurelian Walls, the left bank of the Tiber, the northern boundary of the community of Rome, and the Via Nomentana (Amoroso 2002a, 287; Attema *et al.* in press).

31 Fig. 3 in Amoroso 2002a suggests otherwise, however, a close look at his Master's thesis reveals that the burial grounds have not been covered as part of his investigation (Amoroso 2000, 124).

32 It has been decided to use the term 'burial ground', 'funerary area' or 'sepulchral area' and to refrain from using the term 'necropolis', because the original extent of each burial ground cannot be defined with certainty and also because the term 'necropolis' refers to a modern concept.

33 Amoroso 2002a, 301.

34 Recently, a number of tombs have been identified within the settlement itself. This area constitutes another category and will be dealt with separately below (see *1.2.6 The Road Trench burial ground*).

35 Between 1985 and 2005, co-workers of the Soprintendenza have identified so called *tombaroli* pits in the areas surrounding Crustumerium (Togninelli 2000, 67). The pits can be easily recognised as discolorations on the field surface. Regular excavations at Crustumerium have proven that most pits are indicative of the actual presence of tombs below the surface. Since the entire territory has fallen prey to illicit activity, it is assumed that the absence of pits indicates an absence of (easily recognisable) tombs. In lack of better evidence, the robbers' pits have been used as a point of departure for identifying the location (and extent) of the burial grounds (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press). See Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, fig. 1 and di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2 for an overview of the disturbed areas.

See for the various noted illicit activities at Crustumerium Amorelli 1954, 411-415; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 44; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 153-158; Ceci 1997, 33; di Gennaro 1997, 44-45; di Gennaro 1999b, 54; Togninelli 2000, 65; di Gennaro & Amoroso 2004, 151; di Gennaro 2001a, 461; di Gennaro & Vergantini 2001a, 459-465; di Gennaro 2001b, 255 and Togninelli 2003, 63.

36 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 2.

37 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 2.

38 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 7.

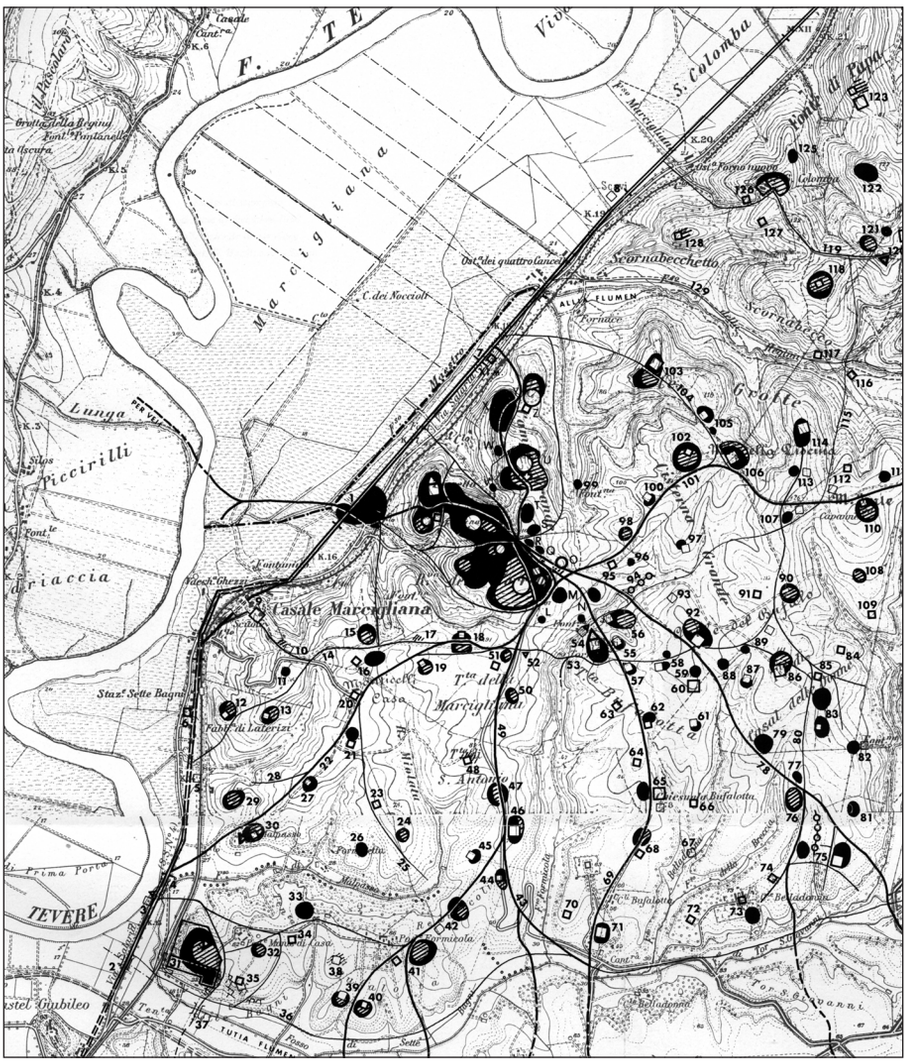


Figure 1.1 Map of the territory of Crustumerium showing the sites identified by Quilici and Quilici Gigli (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, tav. CXXIII).

following, some of the sepulchral areas have been investigated more thoroughly or extensively than others. The research activities of the various teams working at Crustumerium have been summarised, citing the most important outcomes and results. An in depth description of the characteristics of the burial grounds, and more specifically, of the changing burial customs at Crustumerium towards the end of the 7th century BC can be found in chapter 4.

1.2.1 Marcigliano

The funerary area Marcigliano is located about 650 m west of the settlement plateau, on a small hill sloping down towards the Via Salaria. The survey investigation of Quilici and Quilici Gigli in the 1970's did not yield any material suggesting a funerary area at Marcigliano,[39] but traces of illicit excavations have proven that the area must have been used as a burial ground.[40] The disturbed area measures about 1.4 hectare, providing an indication for the minimum size of the burial ground. Indeed, an employee of the SSBAR has collected some surface material, affirming the presence of tombs at this location.[41]

Very near the Marcigliano burial ground, there is another area where illicit excavations indicate the presence of tombs.[42] It is located about 250 m west of the settlement plateau, on the slope of a small hill. The extent of the disturbed terrain measures about 1 hectare, representing the minimum size of the sepulchral area. Since this area and Marcigliano are spatially clearly distinct, we should regard the two as separate burial grounds, at least as long we have no detailed information about the infill of the terrain in between.

39 Site 15 is situated on the slope of Collina di Monticelli (the presupposed funerary area). It yielded only Archaic and Republican remains (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 189-199, tav. LXIX).

40 Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, fig. 1; di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2. See also di Gennaro *et al.* 1999, 14.

41 Personal communication di Gennaro.

42 See Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 1 and di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2.

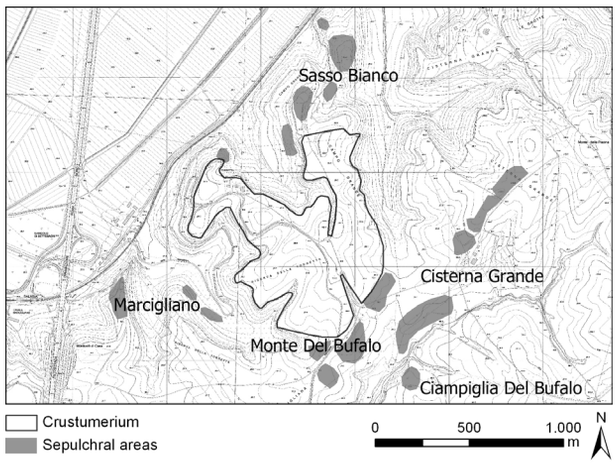


Figure 1.2 Map showing the settlement plateau and the burial grounds in its vicinity (Attema et al. in press, fig. 3).

1.2.2 Sasso Bianco

Another burial ground has been identified on the most northern edge of Campo Grande, to the north-east of the settlement.[43] It is situated on a densely vegetated hill that is separated from the urban area and limited by the course of the Tiber and the Fosso della Regina.[44] The burial ground is named after the small hill Sasso Bianco,[45] and must have been in use from Latial period IIIA onward.[46] Most tombs date to the 7th century BC; the latest tombs date to the 6th century BC.[47]

During both the surveys and the excavation at Sasso Bianco, investigators have noted that many tombs in this area had been looted.[48] The disturbed area measures about 2 hectares and is probably indicative of the total size of the burial ground, looking at the extent of the disturbance and the lay-out of the area.[49]

Quilici and Quilici Gigli recognised a number of (chamber) tombs at Sasso Bianco during their survey of 1974-1976.[50] The dense vegetation impeded a proper identification of the tombs and precise dating was impossible, due to the research circumstances.[51] An archaeological investigation of a number of tombs at Sasso Bianco in 1987 yielded more detailed information about this funerary area,[52] and revealed that the hill must have been densely occupied by tombs (see fig. 1.3).[53] The investigation further yielded an *olletta a rete* dating to Latial period IIIA.[54] The find suggests that the burial ground must have been in use from this period onwards, possibly even earlier.[55]

The excavation area covered approximately 300 m^2, comprising seventeen tombs.[56] Of the sixteen datable tombs, eleven pertain to Latial period IVA,[57]

43 The name Sasso Bianco, or Macchia Rotonda, is a locally used toponym (di Genaro 1990b, 114, note 12).

44 Paolini 1990, 469-470. There seems to be a discrepancy between the location of the tombs investigated by Quilici and Quilici Gigli and the area excavated by the Soprintendenza in 1987, and surveyed between 1995 and 1996. However, in literature both locations are considered as one large funerary area (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 2).

45 di Gennaro 1990b, 469.

46 Amoroso 2004, 165; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4, fig. 6.

47 di Gennaro 1990a, 69.

48 Quilici and Quilici Gigli note that some of the tombs must have been looted 10 to 12 years prior to their survey (1980, 153-154).

Illicit excavation continued even *during* the work of the Soprintendenza (di Gennaro 1990d, 122). In the investigated area only tomb 18, 19, 20, 20bis, 23, 24, 25, 31 and 34 were intact. Tomb 2, 3, 16, 17, 29 and 38 yielded only a small amount of pottery fragments (Paolini 1990, note 9). Belelli Marchesini notes that also in later years, occasional illegal activities have been reported at the hill near Sasso Bianco (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 14).

49 See Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1 and di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2. There is another, smaller disturbed area just north-west of Sasso Bianco, on the lower slope of the hill. This area may have formed part of the Sasso Bianco burial ground, but in lack of a detailed archaeological investigation of the entire hill, this remains uncertain.

50 Site Y, Z and possibly X pertain to the Sasso Bianco funerary area (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 153-155, tav. XXXIII; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 43-44). With regard to site Y they remark that '…non poche tombe scavate nel tufo' could be observed. Of one tomb they could identify the dromos and the rectangular chamber (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 153). On site Z, a little more to the east, they also signalled some tombs, recognizable through the pits dug by tomb robbers (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 153-154). Two tombs of site Z were *a grotticella*, and two others *a cameretta* (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 154).

51 They do state that the tombs should not be dated later than the 5th century, when the town Crustumerium ceased to exist (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 153).

52 The excavation took place in June and July of 1987 (Paolini 1990, 468), headed by the architect F. Caiola in collaboration with F. di Gennaro (di Gennaro 1990a, 114, note 10). The results of the investigation have been published in di Gennaro 1990d and di Gennaro & Paolini 1990 (as cited in di Gennaro 1993b, 512-513).

53 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 1.

54 This date was based on a comparison with an *olletta* from a tomb at the Esquiline Hill which was dated to Latial period IIIA (*Civiltà del Lazio primtivo* 1976, tav. XVIII, D 3-4, tomb XXXIII, cat. 35, 132). Miniature versions of this type are often dated a little earlier, to Latial period II. Unfortunately, the measurements of the vessel found at Sasso Bianco have not been published, which makes it difficult to find accurate parallels for the object.

55 Amoroso 2002a, 300.

56 Paolini 1990, 470. Tomb 2 is a chamber tomb *a caditoia* and had been looted. It contained the remains of two male depositions (di Gennaro *et al.* 1999, 26).

57 Being tomb 2, 3, 16, 20bis, 25, 26, 28, 33, 34, 37, 38 (Paolini 1990, 470).

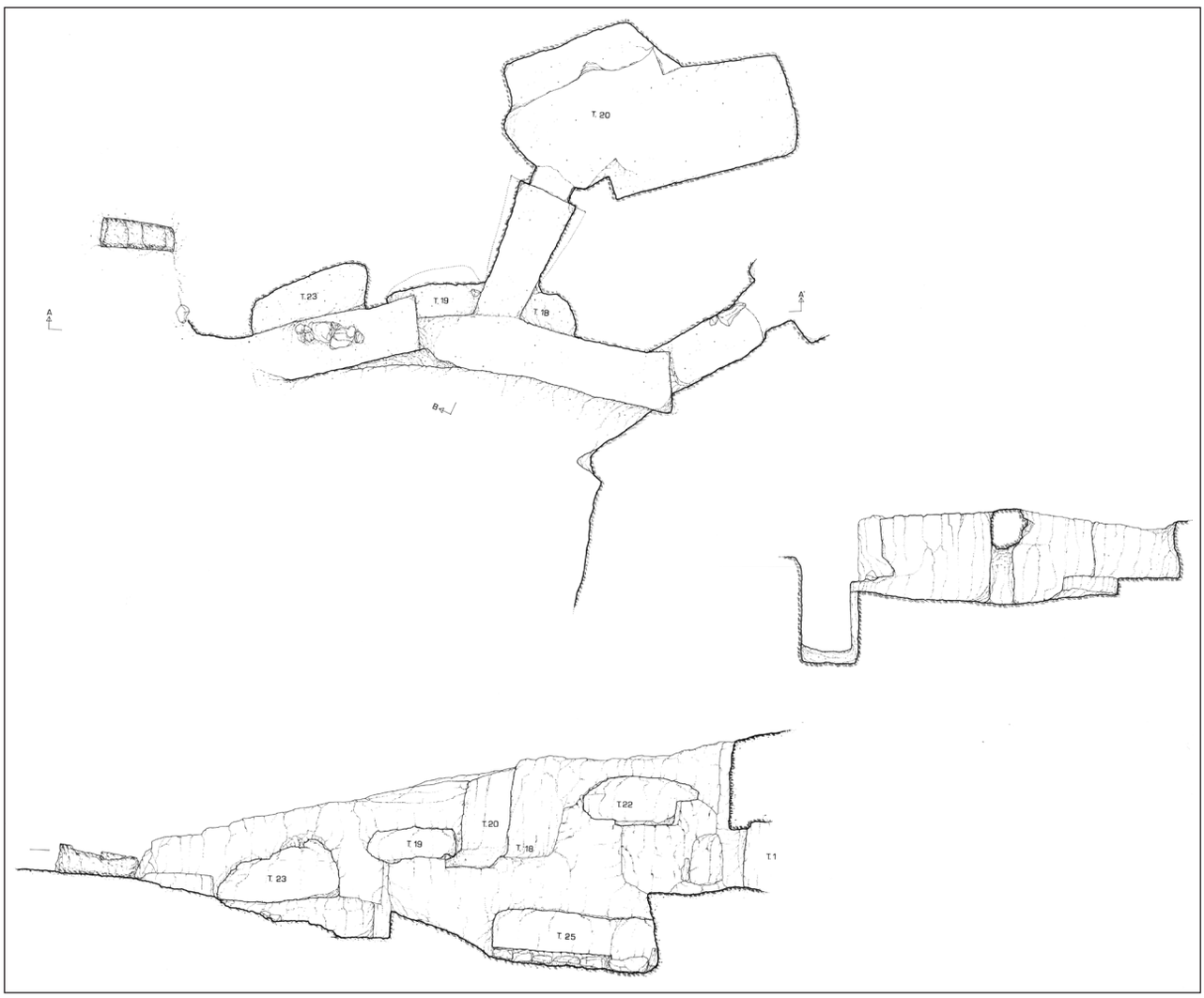


Figure 1.3 Plan and side views of the overlapping tombs at Sasso Bianco (courtesy of the SSBAR).

two to period IVB[58] and three are probably Archaic.[59] The funerary assemblage of most graves in this area is rather standardised and not particularly abundant. Many of the graves are clustered in groups in which younger tombs cut or overlap older ones. The close spacing of the tombs may be indicative of family ties or could be the result of the limited space available on the steep hill. Amoroso covered the funerary area Sasso Bianco during his survey of 1995-1996.[60]

1.2.3 Campo Grande

Just north of the eastern side of the settlement another burial ground has been identified, named Campo Grande. Quilici and Quilici Gigli covered the area during their survey and found indications for tombs at this location.[61] Unfortunately, hardly any regular excavation has been carried out at Campo Grande. The Soprintendenza has investigated only one looted chamber tomb in May 2004.[62]

A map of illicit activities performed on this location, shows that both the top and the slopes of the Campo Grande hill must have functioned as a burial ground.[63] The disturbed area measures almost 3 hectares in total, but the orographic characteristics of the landscape at this location suggest that the burial

58 Being tomb 18 and 19 (Paolini 1990, 470).

59 Being tomb 20, 23 and 31 (Paolini 1990, 470). Amoroso 2002a, 309-310, note 50. One *cappuccina* tomb has been identified to the south of the Sasso Bianco hill, probably belonging to the Republican villa that was situated there (Paolini 1990, note 10; Amoroso 2002b, 278; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 3).

60 Amoroso 2002a.

61 They were able to recognise the entrance of a large chamber tomb (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 43-44).

62 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 14. Members of the DLF assisted at the excavation. The tomb contained the remains of a child, deposited in a loculus that was closed off with tiles. The tomb yielded quite a large number of funerary gifts (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 14).

63 See Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1 and di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2.

Figure 1.4 Overview of the tombs identified at Cisterna Grande (map author).

ground as a whole was probably considerably larger. The funerary areas Campo Grande and Sasso Bianco are very near to each other, but since Sasso Bianco is spatially very clearly defined, we should not regard the two areas as one large burial ground, but rather as two separate ones.

1.2.4 Cisterna Grande

Cisterna Grande is a large burial ground to the east of the settlement. It comprises the Cisterna Grande hill and extends towards the Fosso della Formicola in the northeast.[64]

Quilici and Quilici Gigli have covered the area in their survey of 1974-1976.[65] They encountered material from the Orientalising period on one location near Monte della Piscina, leading them to suspect that the area might have been used as a burial ground.[66]

Illicit excavations have been identified right behind the Casale and on the north-western side of the dirt road leading to the Monte della Piscina.[67] The disturbed areas measure more than 4 hectares in total, but the burial ground as a whole was probably much larger than that.

Several regular excavations at this location have provided valuable information regarding this funerary area (see fig. 1.4). Investigations have been carried out by the University of Leipzig in 2001,[68] by the SSBAR in 2004[69] and 2006,[70] by the University of Cambridge between 2004 and 2007,[71] and by two individual researchers in 2005 and 2006.[72]

The burial ground has been intensively used between the late Orientalising and the Archaic period.

64 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3; Rajala 2008a; Rajala 2008b; Fulminante 2008.

65 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 256-261, tav. CXXIII.

66 I.e. site 105. Unfortunately none of the materials found here have been published (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 259).

67 Belelli Marchesini 2008, fig. 1; di Gennaro 2009, fig. 7.2.

68 The excavation was carried out by Sabine Rieckhoff, Wolf R. Teegen and students of the University of Leipzig under supervision of Pietro Barbina and in collaboration with people from the 'Dopolavoro delle Ferroviarie dello Stato' (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 12; di Gennaro 2009, 129).

69 The investigation was performed by Barbara Barbaro and Tommaso Magliaro with the help of members of the Dopolavoro Ferrovie dello Stato (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, note 7). The results of this excavation have not been published yet.

70 The Soprintendenza identified two chamber tombs near the Casale, which had been disturbed in antiquity and had later on been filled up with material from a nearby villa from the 2nd or 3rd century AD (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3, note 13). See the Tomb Catalogue for more detailed information about these tombs.

71 The excavations carried out in this period formed part of the research project of the Cambridge University called 'Remembering the dead', headed by Ulla Rajala and Francesco di Gennaro (Rajala 2008b, 79-87; Rajala 2007, 43). The project was funded by the Academy of Finland, together with Eero Jarva's 'Looking for the living' project (Rajala 2008a, 1).

72 The investigation focussed on a *tipo Narce* tomb, T14 and was carried out by Francesca Fulminante and Duncan Stirk (Fulminante 2008, 1, note 1). A large part of the head niche had been disturbed, but careful excavation revealed a lot of information. The tomb dates to the late Orientalising period, i.e. the late 7th century BC and contained a female burial accompanied by a quite elaborate funerary assemblage. The deceased was placed in supine position, the arms along the body. The lady had probably been placed on a bier or in a hollowed-out tree trunk. The robbed head niche still yielded several ceramic objects. Four fibulae were found on the breast of the deceased (Fulminante 2008, 4).

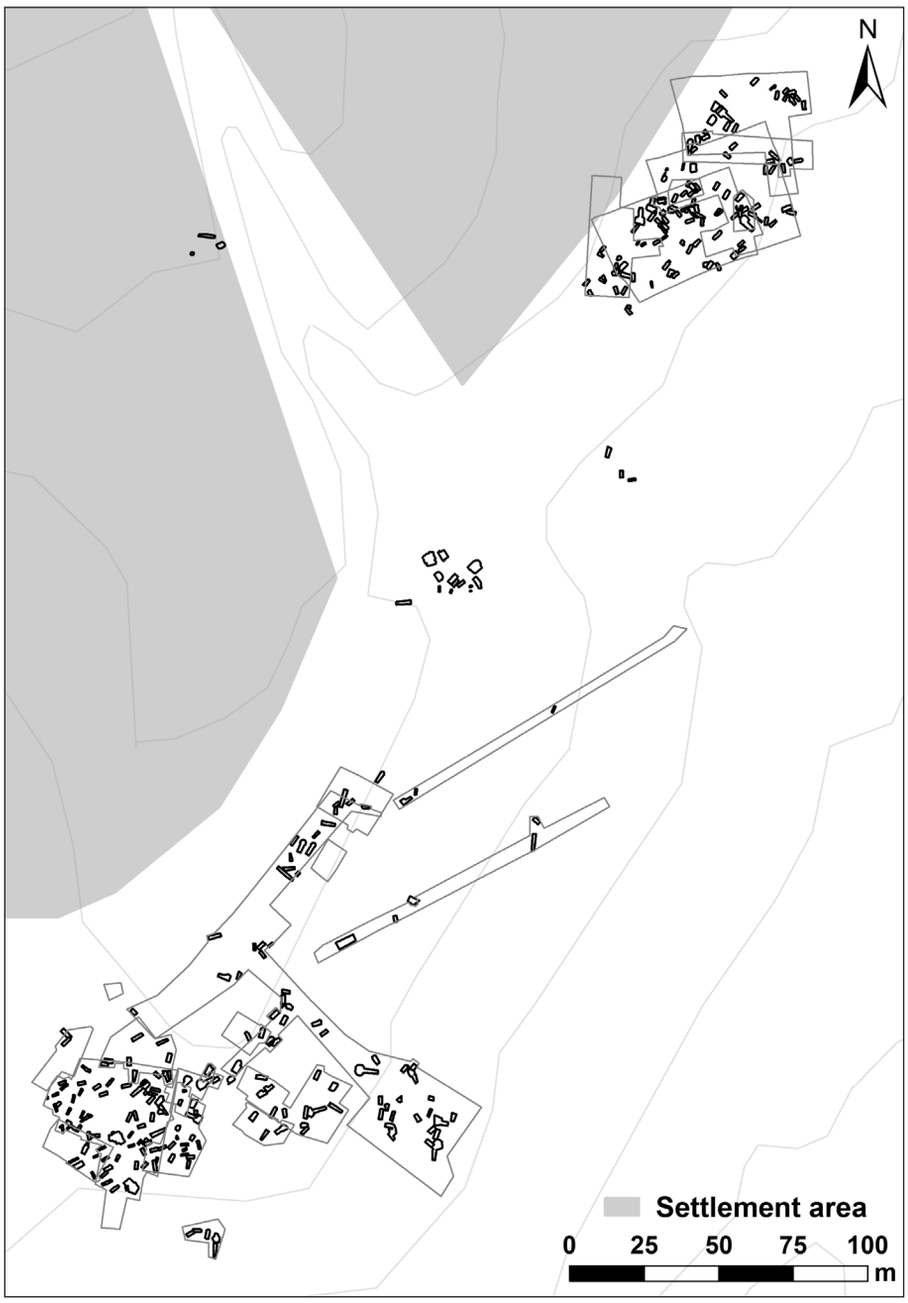


Figure 1.5 Overview of the entire Monte Del Bufalo burial ground showing the excavated plots (map author).

There are indications of earlier tombs on the steep slopes of the Fosso della Formicola, but information regarding these tombs is scanty since they have been poorly preserved due to erosion as a result of ploughing.[73] A few sherds from Latial period III inside the dromos of tomb 10 suggest that Cisterna Grande was already used as a funerary area at that time.[74]

Most of the tombs at Cisterna Grande are chamber tombs.[75] The architectonic lay-out and the orientation are both quite variable. Because the area has not been fully excavated it is not possible to reconstruct the spatial distribution of the tombs, but the area investigated by Ulla Rajala suggests that some tombs may have been clustered in groups.

1.2.5 Monte Del Bufalo

A very large burial ground is situated to the south of the settlement area, on a small hill, sloping down towards the Fosso della Formicola on the southeast and the road to Gabii and Praeneste to the north.[76]

73 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3. Only two tombs have been excavated. Since several robbers' pits have come to light in this area, it is believed that more tombs must have been situated in this area (personal communication Belelli Marchesini, January 2013).

74 Fulminante 2008, 4.

75 To date, tomb 14 is the only fossa tomb identified at this location.

76 Paolini 1990, 468.

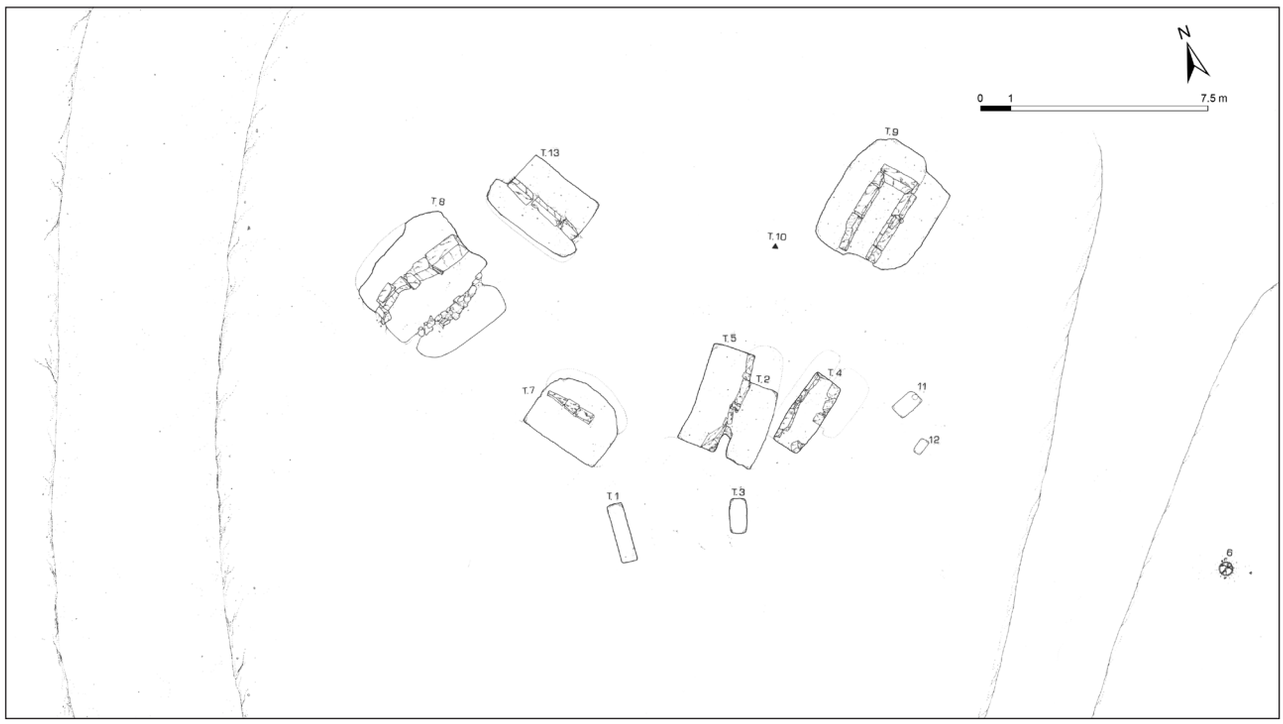


Figure 1.6 Overview of the tombs identified in 1987 (courtesy of the SSBAR).

The area is named after the cadastral toponym Monte Del Bufalo.[77]

Sometime before 1956, archaeologists from the British School at Rome recognised a few tombs when two agricultural ditches had been dug at this location. Inside the ditches, several tombs came to light, some of which contained large vases with smaller vessels of dark clay inside of them.[78] It is clear that these tombs must have been cremation graves with *dolia* pertaining to the earliest Latial periods.[79] The survey of Quilici and Quilici Gigli in the 1970's yielded material dating to the Orientalising and Archaic period and affirmed that the area had been used as a burial ground.[80]

An inventory of illicit excavations at Monte Del Bufalo shows that a large part of the burial ground has suffered from tomb robbers.[81] This is one of the reasons why this area has received most scholarly attention over the last 26 years. To date more than 300 tombs have been identified at Monte Del Bufalo, of which the majority has been excavated (see fig. 1.5).[82] Various research teams have carried out excavations between 1987 and 2012.[83] The following section contains a short overview of the results of these consecutive investigations. The excavation campaigns have been focussed on two different location within the larger burial ground, namely the southern part of the burial ground and the so-called Fossato Area. The following section deals with these two areas separately.

The Southern Area

The first excavation of the necropolis took place in 1987.[84] It covered an area of about 500 m^2, just southeast of the deepened road trench, near an old oak tree. Eleven tombs could be identified during the 1987 campaign (see fig. 1.6).[85] The excavation revealed that both the architecture and the funerary wealth of the tombs were very variable at this

77 di Gennaro 1990b, 468.

78 Nazzareno Santiloni was the man who had later recalled having seen these objects (Amoroso 2000, 126-129).

79 di Gennaro 1990d, 116, note 25; Kahane *et al.* 1968, 17; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 113, note 256; Amoroso 2000, 126-129. Unfortunately this tomb type has not been identified during the excavations of the past 25 years.

80 The area of the Monte Del Bufalo necropolis roughly corresponds with site L, M and N of their survey (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 113-114, tavv. XXXIX and CXXIII; di Gennaro 1990d, 114, note 11).

81 In total, an area of more than 11 hectares has been disturbed.

82 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press.

83 The present study contains an overview of the campaigns orgabised between 1987 and 2011. The results of the 2012 Monte Del Bufalo campaign at have not been incorporated, because of time considerations.

84 The excavation took place in June and July of 1987 (Paolini 1990, 468) and was headed by the architect Caiola in collaboration with Francesco di Gennaro (di Gennaro 1990a, 114, note 10). The results of this excavation have been published in di Gennaro 1988, Paolini 1990 and di Gennaro 1990b (as cited in di Gennaro 1993, 512-513).

85 Being tomb 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 13 (di Gennaro 1990a, 69; Paolini 1990, 469). See Chapter 2 for more detailed information on the tombs in this area.

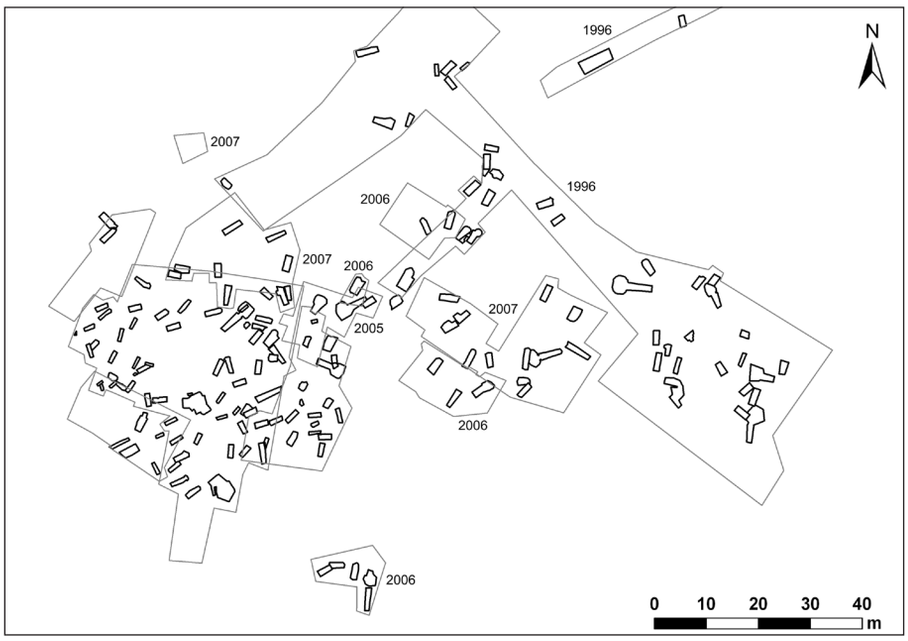


Figure 1.7 Overview of the southern part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground showing the plots excavated in subsequent years (map author).

location.[86] The tombs date to the late IIIrd and IVth Latial period.[87]

The SSBAR opened a new area in 1996 and 1998 to the south of the previously investigated area, on the slope of the hill.[88] Large strips of land were being opened aimed at mapping the extent of the burial ground and the distribution of tombs.[89] A relatively large, irregularly shaped area stretched along the lower presupposed settlement limit (running more or less northeast/southwest), whereas two parallel, long, narrow strips extended further towards the northeast (see map 1.2.5A). About 50 more tombs have been identified during these campaigns, a few of which have been extensively published.[90] The new archaeological investigation revealed that the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground must have been in use from Latial period IIB2 onwards.[91]

The University of Iowa excavated a few tombs on the Monte del Bufalo burial ground in May and June of 2001 and 2002,[92] supervised by Richard de Puma and Paolo Togninelli.[93] The excavation area was situated to the north of the tombs investigated in 1987, east of the dirt road leading to the Casale.

The team excavated seven tombs in 2001, four of which had already been touched by tomb robbers; the remaining three were completely intact and contained several bronze artefacts, amber beads and weaving tools and date around 700 BC.[94] The University of Iowa excavated six more intact tombs between 2001 and 2002 on the eastern part of the

86 Paolini 1990, 470-471.
87 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press.
88 Amoroso 2002a, 309, note 49 and Ceci 1997, 33. The volunteers of the *Dopolavoro delle Ferrovie dello Stato* (DLF) excavated two chamber tombs in January 1999; tomb 109 and 110 (di Gennaro *et al.* 2001c). In April 2000, they exposed tomb 151, which had already been disturbed by grave robbers (di Gennaro *et al.* 2001c).
89 Both the 1996 and the 1998 campaign were mainly conducted by students (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press).
90 Namely tomb 16 (Ceci 1997, 35), tomb 18 (di Gennaro & Amoroso 2004, 151, fig. 2 and 3), tomb 20 (Ceci 1997, 36-37), tomb 25-29 (di Gennaro *et al.*1999a, 17-20), tomb 36 (di Gennaro *et al.*1999a, 20-21), tomb 41 (di Gennaro *et al.*1999a, 22), tomb 50 and 51 (di Gennaro *et al.*1999a, 21-22).
91 Togninelli in di Gennaro *et al.* 2002-2003, 50, note 3; di Gennaro *et al.* 2009, Amoroso 2002a, 300, fig. 8; di Gennaro & Amoroso 2004, 151 and di Gennaro *et al.* 2007, 136-137, fig. 1. See for an elaborate description of the tombs pertaining to this early period Chapter 3; section *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium*.
92 The field reports suggest that the investigations took place in 2001 and 2002, but di Gennaro states that the excavation campaigns of the University of Iowa took place in 2002 and 2003 (di Gennaro 2009, 129).
93 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 2, note 9. The excavation was carried out with the help of Italian students and volunteers.
94 Tomb 102, 103, 104 and 105 had been disturbed, tomb 113, 114 and 115 were intact still (De Puma 2002; De Puma 2002-2003, 53).

Figure 1.8 Overview of the Fossato Area on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground showing the plots excavated in subsequent years (map author).

Monte Del Bufalo area, to the left and right of the dirt road leading to the Casale.[95]

Additional funding of the Italian State, obtained in 2005, enabled the SSBAR to perform investigations for three years in a row.[96] It was decided that the investigation should focus on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground. The on-going campaigns doubled the number of identified tombs at that time to 250.[97] The research focused on the area to the right of the Via della Marcigliana, south of the settlement plain (see fig. 1.7).[98] The area measures about 2000 square meters, containing 91 tombs dating between Latial period IIB2 and the Archaic period.[99] The tombs seem to have been grouped around an empty strip of land, running northeast-southwest, possibly representing the track of the old road leading to Fidenae.[100]

In the summer of 2012, a previously[101] investigated area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground had been partially reopened and extended. About seven new tombs came to light during this campaign.[102]

The Fossato Area

In 1998, a new excavation area was opened a little to the south of the settlement, south of the parallel walls and the deepened trench demarcating the border of the inhabited area, now referred to as the Fossato Area. About 20 tombs have been identified during the 1998 campaign, but not all of them have been excavated.[103] This location has been investigated further in a joint effort by the SSBAR and the GIA between 2009 and 2011.[104] In an area of about 1850 square meters, 75 tombs have been identified (see fig. 1.8).[105] Unfortunately, this part of the Monte

95 Tomb 118-123 (De Puma 2002-2003, 53). A selection of the funerary assemblages of these tombs is exhibited in the Museo Territoriale di Monterotondo (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, Togninelli 2006, 35-40). Tomb 121 has been extensively published by De Puma (De Puma 2002-2003, 54-56).

96 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3.

97 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 3. The SSBAR excavated at this location in 2005, 2006 and 2007, whereas the GIA organized campaigns in 2006, 2007 and 2008.

98 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 14, fig. 18. During these years the investigations suffered enormously from illicit activity, forcing the archaeologists to excavate only one tomb at a time and progressively widening the area when more tombs came to light.

99 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 14-15; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 14, fig. 18. Belelli Marchesini refers to this group of tombs as 'The "Via della Marcigliana" group', since the tombs are located close to the modern Via della Marcigliana road (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 14).

100 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 15. See also Amoroso 2004, fig. 11.26.

101 Part of the area had been opened in the campaigns of 1996 and 1998.

102 Belelli Marchesini 2012. The results of the 2012 campaign have not been incorporated in this dissertation.

103 Tomb 90-99 and tomb 106-108. Tomb 93 and 95 have not been excavated, tomb 98 and 99 probably only partially (Internal documentation SSBAR). See for an overview Willemsen & Nijboer 2009, 27-29.

104 The GIA had already performed investigations on two tombs in this area in 2007 and 2008 (being MDB/T108 and MDB/T250).

105 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 24-25. The investigation of the Fossato Area continued in the summer of 2013. In an area of about 1210 m^2 21 more tombs have come to light. These tombs have not been incorporated in this dissertation.

Del Bufalo burial ground has suffered severely from erosion as a result of ploughing.[106] The percentage of robbed tombs is, however, slightly lower than elsewhere on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground.[107]

The consecutive campaigns have yielded a detailed image of the spatial and chronological distribution of the tombs in this area. The burial ground was delimited by the Fossato on the north-western side, forming the boundary between the settlement plateau and the burial ground. There is an empty strip of land in front of the Fossato, possibly indicating the presence of a pomerial road.[108] The wide cut on the south-eastern side of the area has been interpreted as a tuff quarry that must have been used from the second half of the 7th century onwards.[109] A ditch running north-east, south-west through the area possibly functioned as a drainage channel or as a road, possibly dating to pre-Roman times.[110]

The tombs in this area date from the middle of the 7th century onwards. Early Iron Age tombs have not been identified, but they may have been destroyed by the erosion of the upper part of the bedrock.[111] Most tombs are directed towards the NNE or NE, [112] but there are exceptions to this rule. All architectonic types have been identified in this part of the burial ground. The tombs seem to have been organized in smaller and larger family groups, possibly even in geometrically shaped plots.[113] The northernmost part of the investigated area is not as densely occupied as the southern part.[114] Overall, the tombs in this area date later than the tombs of the Marcigliana group, and the funerary assemblages are not as abundant.[115] The tombs are relatively shallow and the closing systems of loculi and niches often consist of rubble walls.[116] It has been noted that the quality of the local tuff bedrock was not as good as at other locations of the burial ground. As a result, many niches, chambers and loculi had collapsed at the time of excavation.[117]

1.2.6 The Road Trench burial ground

During the 'Looking for the living' project, the Finnish archaeologists of the University of Oulu accidentally came across five tombs pertaining to the Orientalising period, located inside the settlement area.[118] Two tombs have been discovered in 2005 and 2006, while the team was excavating a trench across the presupposed road, just north of the southern 'entrance' to the town (see fig. 1.5).[119] The graves were further investigated in 2006, 2009 and 2010.[120] Three more graves came to light in the campaigns of 2009 and 2010.

To date it is not known if the tombs were situated inside the settlement area, or whether they pertained to a burial ground at this location.[121] Belelli Marchesini suspects that it concerns a burial ground reserved for infants, demonstrating that the Latial custom to bury children within the settlement also applied to Crustumerium.[122]

1.2.7 Tumuli in the territory of Crustumerium[123]

During their survey investigation of the territory of Crustumerium, Lorenzo and Stefania Quilici came across an elevated feature in the landscape, which they interpreted as a tumulus. It was located about 350 m to the southeast of the 'access' to the city (i.e. the southern end of the deepened road trench) and would have formed part of a funerary area. Tuff blocks on the surface indicated that it had been, at least partially, elevated artificially. Surface investigation yielded ceramics pertaining to the Archaic period.[124]

The Italian scholars identified another tumulus, 1300 m southeast of the one described above, at the Fosso Belladonna (see fig. 1.9).[125] The tumulus had a diameter of circa 25 m, and a maximum height of

106 Internal documentation SSBAR.
107 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 25.
108 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26.
109 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26; Belelli Marchesini 2011, 12.
110 Belelli Marchesini notes that the road seems to respect the older tombs, suggesting that there location was still known in later times (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26; Belelli Marchesini 2011, 5.
111 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26; Belelli Marchesini 2011.
112 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26.
113 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 29.
114 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 25; Belelli Marchesini 2011.
115 Belelli Marchesini suggests that the burial plot was exploited by people of a lower social standing (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 29).
116 Belelli Marchesini 2011, 5.
117 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 29; Belelli Marchesini, Relazione 2011, 5.
118 Jarva 2013.
119 I.e. Trench E (Jarva *et al.* 2008, 9; Kuusisto & Tuppi 2009, 1). The excavation of the tombs was completed in 2009 (personal observation).
120 Kuusisto & Tuppi 2009, 2.
121 Jarva 2013; Attema *et al.* in press.
122 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 6.
123 Ashby noted one tumulus, 1 km east of the remains of a Roman villa, located on the *tenuta (della Marcigliana) lungo l'andamento della Salaria antica presso la Bufalotta* (Ashby 1906, 48-49). He refers to Gell who would have identified three tumuli in the area, which he relates to the battle of Allia (Gell 1846, 45-46; Ashby 1906, 49, note 3).
124 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 47-48.
125 Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 248-250, sito 88, tavv. XCIII-XCV; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 49-52, fig. 7. See also Amoroso & Barbina 2003, fig. 2. The 7th century tumulus was supposedly located along the route Veii/Crustumerium/Ficulea/Gabii (Amoroso & Barbina 2003, 22).

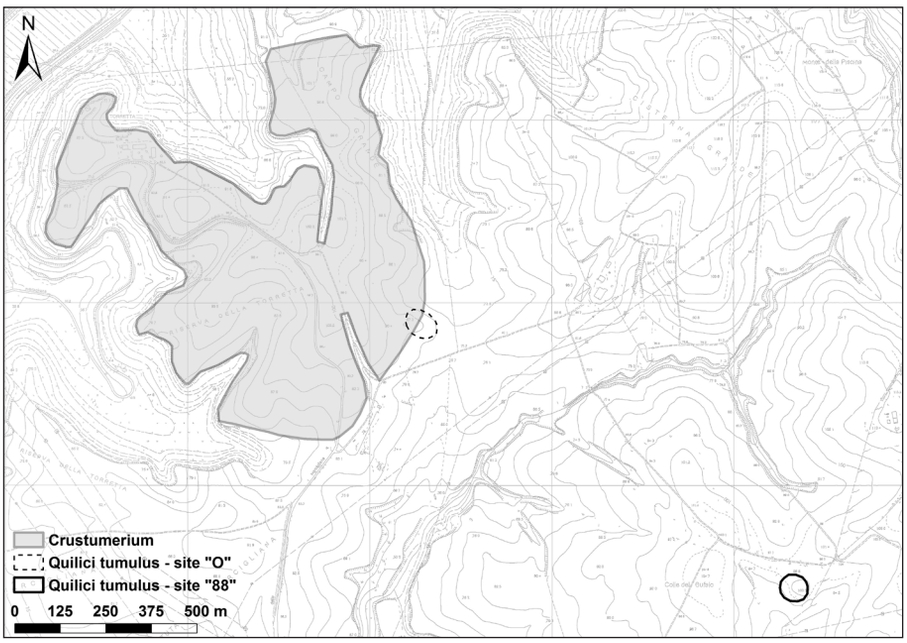


Figure 1.9 Tumuli in the vicinity of Crustumerium identified by Quilici and Quilici Gigli (map author).

4.5 m, of which at least 3 m consisted of an artificial elevation of tuff blocks and humus.[126] Archaeological remains from the proto-historic and Orientalising period seemed to confirm a funerary function of the tumulus.[127] However, a re-investigation of the area by the Soprintendenza in November 1989 yielded no evidence sustaining this hypothesis.[128] Most of the artificial elevation observed by Quilici and Quilici Gigli had already been ploughed away at that time and the archaeological exploration yielded no more than some bone material and a few domestic pottery sherds dating to Latial period IVA.[129] The investigation further revealed a number of cavities with pottery fragments inside of them, but they have not been excavated in depth.[130]

126 The north-east side of the tumulus had been taken away by an agricultural machine, exposing its stratigraphy (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 248, tav. XCV, 2; Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1974-1975, 50).
127 di Gennaro 2003, 514. The fragments found at the surface pertained to Latial period III, the Orientalising and Archaic period (Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 249-250).
128 di Gennaro 1993, 513-514.
129 di Gennaro 1993, 514.
130 Personal communication di Gennaro, July 2013.

2

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

'*…the archaeology of death, is… nearly synonymous with archaeology itself*'[131]

2.1 Setting the stage

Archaeologists aim at reconstructing the behaviour of prehistoric and proto-historic peoples by studying the material remains and traces of the past.[132] One of the most rewarding arenas to perform such a study is a burial ground, since it not only contains the physical remains of the individuals pertaining to a past society (the dead), but can yield large amounts of objects (grave gifts) as well. Because of the fact that most tombs are closed contexts, they offer a relatively complete archive of archaeological data of a given moment in time. As a consequence, funerary archaeology has been used for myriad investigations and interpretations since the origin of the archaeological discipline. One could even say that '…the early history of archaeology was very much the history of burial studies'.[133] Indeed, funerary data have been used to reconstruct aspects of social organization, trade, migration, warfare, family structures, the social persona, gender matters, rituals and religious convictions.[134]

2.2 Mortuary variability

Funerary data are especially interesting because they provide an insight in the variety of ways people were being treated after death. The differential treatment is usually referred to as 'mortuary variability'. The term was introduced by New Archaeologists who aimed at reconstructing social organisation through a study of the variability within the mortuary practices of a single culture.[135] It was hoped that the principles behind status differentiation could be inferred from different disposal treatment, since it was believed that each individual was 'buried in accordance with their social standing in life'.[136] Although this assumption has been debated in the past decades (as will be shown below), the reconstruction of social complexity and status differentiation based on the variation in the interments and properties of the graves is still of principal concern in funerary archaeology.[137]

Processual archaeologists tried to reconstruct levels of status and rank based on funerary data, following the assumption that the complexity of a burial ground mirrors the complexity of the society it pertained to.[138] Burials and, more specifically, grave goods would provide an insight in the social persona of the individual buried in a grave[139] and the rank of the deceased would have been 'reflected in the measurable communal effort and *energy expenditure* invested in the funerary rite and the erection of the monument'.[140] Scholars thus used differentiation or the lack thereof in the funerary architecture in order to identify traits of social structure.[141]

More recently, however, as a reaction to this rather too straightforward approach of the New Archaeology, scholars have pointed out that 'seldom are there any direct links between the life of the living and the way in which they dispose of their dead'.[142] Indeed, the funerary ritual is the occasion *par excellence* where 'the social structure is transferred, restructured, reallocated or even challenged'.[143] The funerary rite *may* reflect the actual social conditions of the living, but certainly not necessarily.[144] If anything, it can tell us something about the descendants or the people partaking in the funeral and the *new* hierarchies and social relations that came into

131 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 1.
132 Jelsma 2000, 41.
133 Chapman & Randsborg 1981, 2. The focus on funerary archaeology was also due to the fact that burial mounds and cemeteries were clearly visible in the landscape and yielded a large quantity of material, whereas settlement remains were much harder to find (D'Agostino 1985, 47).
134 See Carr 1995, 105-106 for an overview.
135 Parker Pearson 2005, 73.
136 Parker Pearson 2005, 73.
137 Parker Pearson 2005, 94 and Fahlander 2003, 82.
138 Binford 1972.
139 Parker Pearson 2005, 94.
140 Babić 2005, 72. See on the 'energy expenditure theory' also the section Energy expenditure.
141 Fahlander 2003, 73.
142 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 10 and Fulminante 2003, 2.
143 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 10.
144 'The grave is rather a manifested statement of social practice, in which corporeal variables are not necessarily related to the individual's life' (Fahlander 2003, 80). See also Cannon 1989 and Morris 1989 on the difference between social structure (reflected in the funerary record) and social organisation (the actual state of affairs).

being after the death of an individual.[145] As opposed to processual archaeologists who regarded individuals as 'automatons acting out pre-ordained social roles',[146] post-processualists stress that the materiality of death is *actively* manipulated.[147] And as such 'burials are meaningful transformations of social differentiation'.[148] Post-processualists have further demonstrated that ideology can have a significant impact on the funerary ritual and the expression of the social status of the deceased.[149]

2.2.1 Mortuary domains

Even though adding meaning to mortuary variability can be somewhat problematic, it is still the most instructive aspect of the funerary data. In order to study the mortuary variability at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, the mortuary attributes of the funerary data have been categorised into four domains; the grave construction, the placement in the burial ground, the body and the grave goods.[150] The remainder of this chapter deals with each domain separately, investigating the underlying theoretical framework and interpretation, and the research methodology adopted in the present publication.

Grave construction

The first mortuary domain concerns the grave construction. The study of this domain is of relevance, because it is believed that the variation in grave construction can tell us something about the differences in social position and/or status of the dead.[151] Indeed, a tomb was not only designed to house the deceased and to enable people to dispose of a corpse,[152] it also functioned as a physical monument for the living society.[153]

At Crustumerium, the dead were deposited in graves that were constructed by digging into the tuff bedrock. The architecture of the inhumation graves became more and more complex over time; the simple plan of the trench (or *fossa*) tombs of the earliest phase was elaborated with a small niche or a sepulchral loculus. Ultimately, tombs with long entrance shafts and large sepulchral chambers appeared. So far, seven different tomb types have been identified, which have been ordered chronologically.[154] Although there is a considerable degree of variation within these classes, the overall similarity of the tombs pertaining to the same type suggests that they were created according to a similar predefined plan.

The introduction of new architectonic types did not necessarily entail the abandonment of existing tomb types; the simple trench tombs that had been in use during the first phase of the burial grounds were for example still being dug in the IVB/Archaic period. The fact that different tomb types were being created simultaneously, suggests that the architecture of a tomb can be used to detect (contemporaneous) mortuary variability.

The funerary architecture of the more elaborate tombs presumably required a larger expenditure of energy, while at the same time allowing for the execution of a more complex mortuary ritual. Both topics will be dealt with in some detail below.

Energy expenditure

The construction of a tomb must have been a deliberate choice and a conscious project. The architectonic lay-out, size, depth and finishing of a tomb are significant, because they can provide clues regarding the amount of time and effort invested in its creation. According to Tainter, a '… higher social rank of a deceased individual will correspond to greater amounts of corporate involvement and activity disruption, and this should result in the expenditure of greater amounts of energy in the interment ritual'.[155] Although scholars are nowadays more careful in drawing analogies between the differentiation on the burial ground and the social status of an individual,[156] it is generally believed that the treatment of the dead

145 Fahlander 2003, 76. However, we should not rule out the possibility that the deceased individual reigned over his or her grave, determining the character of the funeral to some extent.
146 Parker Pearson 2005, 84.
147 As proposed by Hodder 1982b, 9-10. See also Babić 2005, 76.
148 Hodder 1982a, 150. Parker Pearson refers to the same principle stating that '[r]ank and status are not givens at moments such as funerals but are actively contested' (Parker Pearson 2005, 84).
149 Wason 1994, 68. See for example Parker Pearson's study on cemeteries from the Victorian era (Parker Pearson 1982). See also Fulminante 2003, 12.
150 Following the example of Johan Jelsma in his book 'A bed of ochre' on the mortuary practices of an archaic Indian sociey at Part aux Choix, New Foundland (Jelsma 2000, 44-46).
151 Jelsma 2000, 45; Parker Pearson 2005, 5.
152 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 5.
153 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 9.
154 Belelli Marchesini 2008; Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010. See also Chapter 3, *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium* and *Appendix 1: Tomb typology*.
155 Tainter 1978, 125. Tainter does not only refer to the architecture of the tomb, but mentions the handling of the disposal of the body, the nature of the grave associations as well as other areas of expenditure of energy (Tainter 1978, 125).
156 See the section *2.3 Biases*; *2.3.1 Social manipulation of the burial ritual* on the distorting factors inherent to the burial ritual.

provides information regarding the way the family or the social group wished to portray the deceased.

The tombs encountered at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have been grouped into seven different types, as briefly mentioned above. It should be stressed that, whilst these tomb types differ quite much from one another, contemporary tombs within a single type also display a considerable amount of variation in terms of their size, depth, and finishing.

In order to enable a comparative analysis of the energy expended on each grave construction, the dimensions and depths of the tombs under study have been listed in the Tomb Catalogue. The measurements of the individual elements of the tombs (shaft/dromos, loculus, head niche, chamber) have been incorporated as well, in order to enable the investigations of the differences within a tomb type, possibly revealing significant patterns and chronological developments.

As opposed to the dimensions and the depth of the tombs, their level of finishing is not so easily expressed in an objective way and is therefore determined by looking at the lay-out of the tomb, the appearance of the individual architectonic elements, the lay-out and material of the closing systems and the filling of the shaft. The shape of (elements of) the tomb can be regular or irregular and the closing system, intended to close off the niche, loculus or chamber from the rest of the tomb, can consist of large monumental tuff blocks, of *tegulae* (tiles), of a pile of (re-used) tuff chunks, or it may not be present at all. The shaft can be filled back with the tuff rubble acquired from digging the shaft or may consist of large tuff blocks, or (parts of) previously used items such as *cippi* (grave markers). It is assumed that the variations in the lay-out and shape of the tombs, the character of the closing systems and the filling of the shaft are indicative of a greater or lesser energy expenditure invested in the grave construction. Monumental tuff slabs, for example, which were especially hewn out for the closure of a tomb, are considered to represent a greater investment of time and energy than a pile of (re-used) tuff chunks.

Mortuary architecture defining the ritual

Whilst simple trench tombs have been attested frequently at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, most later dating graves have a more complex architectonic lay-out. A study of the archaeological remains encountered in each clearly defined architectonic component enables a reconstruction of the function of these elements. The fact that the head and side niches generally contained a banqueting set for example, suggests that they had been especially created to house an assemblage of this kind. The same thing goes for the loculi, which mostly contain the inhumed body and for the chambers that generally house both the corpses and the banqueting equipment (if present).

A study of the architectonic lay-out of the tomb in combination with the functional analysis of each architectonic element described above, can provide an insight into the way the funerary ritual was being executed, or at least, the order of (some elements of) the ritual practice. In the fossa tombs furnished with a head niche for example, the banqueting set must have been placed in the niche first, after which the body could be placed on the floor of the fossa, but not before the niche had been closed off with tuff blocks or slabs. An analysis of the differences and similarities of the architectonic lay-out of the tomb types and of the (reconstructed) order of the funerary rite can shed light on the way the burial practice must have changed through time.

A functional analysis of the tomb elements can further be used to investigate the division between the world of the dead (represented by the deceased and its personal trappings) and the world of the living (represented by the banqueting set),[157] for it is believed that there may have been a conceptual difference between the two realms, which can be traced in the architecture and lay-out of a tomb.[158] The altered architectonic lay-out and the decreasing quality of the closing systems of the tombs at the burial grounds of Crustumerium resulted in a seemingly less strict division between both worlds during the IVB/Archaic period, as will be shown in Chapter 3.

Placement in the burial ground

The location of the grave in relation to other graves on a burial ground constitutes the second mortuary domain. The study of the spatial characteristics of a grave is based on the assumption that 'each burial was deliberately placed where it was in substantial knowledge, through an oral tradition and/or personal witness, of previous burials in the same group and in general awareness of the evolving range of mortuary variability practiced by the community as a whole.'[159] The location of a grave is of relevance, because it can inform us about kinship, gender and

157 See on this topic also section *The grave goods*.
158 Bartoloni *et al.* 1982, 267.
159 Chapman 2000, 177.

status[160] and because it can shed light on the social structure of a past community.[161]

The following singles out two elements that are instructive for the study of this mortuary domain, namely spatial distribution and multi-deposition.

Spatial distribution

The spatial distribution of tombs is of relevance, because few burial grounds grow randomly and 'there is normally some set of organizing principles in use'.[162] The study of the distribution of tombs over a cemetery is aimed at revealing these principles.

Tombs can be distributed over an area in countless different ways, but there are a few patterns that are easily recognisable, such as linear, concentric and segmented distributions. Linear patterns generally develop from a focal point and are believed to represent a horizontal stratigraphy. Concentric patterns grow out from a central burial that is respected, and are believed to represent a hierarchical stratigraphy. Cemeteries with a segmented distribution consist of discrete sections or clusters of tombs, sometimes with open spaces in between. The sections may represent family or kin groups.[163]

The distribution of the tombs on the burial grounds of Crustumerium is probably best characterised as segmented; there are small groups of closely spaced tombs, separated from each other by seemingly 'empty' areas. In addition, the fact that many younger tombs intersect older ones suggests that people went out of their way to position a new tomb in close vicinity to an existing one (even if it entailed (accidentally) damaging the older grave construction), and that the location of the grave must have been paramount. This topic will be further dealt with in Chapter 4, placing special emphasis on the spatial patterning of the tombs in the IVB/Archaic period in reference to the existing distribution.[164]

Multi-deposition

The mortuary domain that is concerned with "placement in the burial ground" does not only investigate the location of the tomb within the larger cemetery and its relation to other graves, it also refers to the placement of an individual burial within this patterning. The fossa and loculus tombs at Crustumerium must have been designed to house only one burial,[165] but after the introduction of the chamber tomb around the middle of the 7th century BC, multi-deposition started to occur much more frequently. However, tombs designed to house only one deposition continued to be created during the IVB/Archaic period. The fact that some people were being interred in a tomb that had been used previously and already contained one or more depositions, while other people were buried inside a tomb that must have been especially created for the occasion, suggests that the choice for single or multiple deposition was a conscious act, possibly prompted by social considerations. The number of depositions within a tomb is therefore not only indicative of energy expenditure,[166] but can inform us about social or familial relations as well.

The body

The third mortuary domain is concerned with the way the dead body was treated during the funerary ritual. The study of the body is of relevance, because the way people deal with a corpse says much about their attitude towards the deceased, but also about the conceptions and values of a society.[167] In addition, the study of the body is informative for the analysis of mortuary variability. The following section looks at the burial ritual (cremation or inhumation), and with regard to inhumation it investigates the position and orientation of the body and the skeletal articulation (primary versus secondary burial).

The burial ritual

The reason why it is important to study the burial ritual, is because it can inform us about the energy expended on the disposal of the dead (the cremation representing a far larger investment of resources),[168] and because it may inform us about the ideological conception of death and the afterlife.

The vast majority of the tombs so far investigated at the burial grounds of Crustumerium are inhumation graves. There are only three examples of cremation burials, two of which were contained inside a house-shaped urn, placed on the floor of a chamber tomb. Future research may reveal more cremation

160 Parker Pearson 2005, 12.
161 Goldstein 1981, 53.
162 Parker Pearson 2005, 12.
163 Parker Pearson 2005, 12.
164 See Chapter 3, *3.3 Placement in the burial ground*.
165 See Chapter 3, *3.5.1 Multi-deposition*, especially notes 407 and 408.
166 A larger number of depositions would require a lesser expenditure of energy. See for this topic *Grave construction*; Energy expenditure in this chapter.
167 Parker Pearson 2005, 45.
168 Smith 2007, 165.

burials, but the excavation performed to date, suggest that inhumation was the preferred burial ritual.

The body position

Variability in the position or lay-out of inhumed individuals can be indicative of differential burial treatments and can help to identify groups or clusters, assuming that all people pertaining to the same group were deposited similarly in the grave. At Crustumerium, most of the inhumed individuals were buried in supine position. Subtle variations in the positioning of the corpses are unfortunately hard to detect, due to the adverse preservation conditions.[169]

Orientation

The orientation of the body is considered meaningful, because the placement of the body in the grave and the way it was directed must have been a (semi) conscious and deliberate act.[170] Indeed, the orientation of the depositions and the tombs may have emanated from a religious belief or ritual practice.[171] A change in the orientation of the tombs can consequently be regarded as an indication that this belief had changed or that the practice had been abandoned. Chapter 4 will show that the orientation of the tombs on the burial grounds of Crustumerium became increasingly varied during the IVB/Archaic period. Especially the chamber tombs were very diverse in terms of their orientation.

In order to enable a comparative analysis of the orientation of the different tomb types throughout subsequent periods, Chapter 4 provides various compass cards. The cards show the range in the orientation of each tomb type and of different chronological periods.[172]

The skeletal articulation

The study of the skeletal articulation is important, because it yields information regarding the character of the burial. It shows whether a burial is primary, or if it has been rearranged after the (partial) decomposition of the flesh and if it has been buried secondarily. Secondary burial of (parts of) the previously interred body is sometimes regarded as an integral part of the spiritual journey of the deceased,[173] but has also been regarded as a means to assert collective identity and deny one's individual identity.[174]

Chapter 3 will show, however, that at Crustumerium hardly any of the depositions that have been manipulated some time after the initial interment in the grave are secondary *burials*, they should rather be referred to as secondary *depositions*. The fact that secondary depositions have been most frequently attested in multi-depositional chamber tombs suggests that the rearrangement of previously buried individuals was prompted by logistic considerations (i.e. a lack of space), rather than stemming from a religious conviction or a strategy concerned with social manipulation.

The grave goods

The fourth mortuary domain is concerned with the contents of the tombs, i.e. the grave goods. An analysis of the grave goods yields valuable data for the study of mortuary variability. Since the dead do not bury themselves,[175] the objects pertaining to the funerary assemblage should be regarded as gifts of the living. This is of relevance because the gift 'establishes or reaffirms symbolic bonds between individuals and objectifies social relationships'.[176] It follows that an object is social and as such involved in the production of difference.[177] In addition, it can provide information regarding the character of the social relationships between the deceased and the surviving community. The relative wealth of the grave contents can further shed light on the amount of resources that were being invested, just as the grave construction is indicative of the expenditure of energy.[178]

At Crustumerium, the dead were generally buried with a number of personal objects (both functional and ornamental), and a set of vessels that presumably formed (part of) a banqueting set. The personal trappings were positioned near the body of the deceased, whilst the banqueting equipment was mostly placed in a clearly demarcated space inside the tomb.[179] It is common practice to draw a distinction between the objects that pertain to the set of personal items and those that form part of the banqueting set, since it is generally believed that the objects that were deposited directly on top of or near the deposition would have been personal belongings of the deceased,

169 See the section *Adverse preservation conditions*; *Skeletal material*.

170 See Fahlander on the semiconscious or automatic character of social practice (Fahlander 2003, 16).

171 'For it is now indisputable that most of the Mediterranean tomb and temple builders were following customs in the orientation as well as in the structure and location of their monuments; and the modern investigator needlessly impoverishes his enquiry if he ignores these customs of orientation.' (Hoskin 2001, 3).

172 Following the example of Gnade 1992, 18, fig. 14.

173 Parker Pearson 2005, 50, citing Hertz 1907.

174 Shanks & Tilley 1982, 150.

175 Fahlander 2003, 76.

176 Sørensen 2000, 79.

177 Sørensen refers to gender as an element of difference, but the concept could be applied to age or social standing as well.

178 See the section *Energy expenditure*.

179 See Chapter 3, *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium*.

whereas the banqueting set was merely used by the surviving relatives during the funeral.[180] The distinction between the two categories may also represent a conceptual and ideological difference, namely the division between the world of the living and the world of the dead.[181] Some object can pertain to both categories, resulting in an overlapping pattern.[182]

Personal items

It is believed that the personal items can tell us something about the individual that was buried in the tomb, but also about the descendants performing the funerary rite since '… the personal items … will always be a selection of his or her possessions, and hence, the descendants choose those objects that were mandatory or preferable for the fulfilment of the rite in accordance to cultural, ritual and religious norms'.[183] As has been stated before, researchers have grown more aware of the factors that might have distorted the representation of the deceased[184] and no longer believe that the objects deposited in the grave necessarily mirrored or represented the dead person's social persona.[185] It is stated that '(t)he value of burial dress and ornament lies in its capacity to inform our understanding of how the deceased was situated within an ideal social structure'.[186] It has further been stressed that grave goods are bound up in gift exchanges with the dead, and cannot simply be regarded as personal trappings.[187] The funerary gifts tell us how descendants wished to present the deceased and they also show us that 'the materialisation of death extends beyond the dead to the social relations of the living'[188]. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the dead bodies still retained and encapsulated 'some elements of the lived social identity of the deceased'.[189] In short, the personal objects refer to the identity of the dead person, but at the same time, they inform us about the relationship between the mourners and the deceased.[190]

In the present study, the personal objects have been grouped in two categories; the functional and the ornamental objects. The functional personal objects that were deposited in a grave can tell us something about the tasks performed and the role played by the deceased during his or her lifetime, or about the way this person was ideally represented in the grave. Examples of functional personal objects are weapons, spindle whorls, distaffs and unguentaria.[191] Ornamental objects provide information about the way the deceased was presented in the grave and possibly also about the way a person had looked during his or her lifetime. Examples of personal ornamental objects are fibulae, clasps, bracelets, necklaces and diadems. Although it can be argued that fibulae and clasps were probably not strictly ornamental, but served a functional purpose as well (in fastening elements of the clothing), they have been grouped in the category of ornamental objects.

The reason why the personal objects have been grouped in two distinct categories, is not only because they provide different sorts of information, but also because the two categories undergo a differential development at Crustumerium over the course of the IVB/Archaic period. Whilst the number of functional objects deposited with male burials remains largely unaltered, female graves were completely deprived of functional objects. The personal ornamental objects continue to be deposited in many of the graves, but appear only in very limited numbers. Both developments will be described in Chapter 4.

Banqueting set

The collection of vessels deposited inside a grave is mostly referred to as the 'banqueting set' or 'banqueting assemblage' and a single object from such a collection is consequently named a 'banqueting vessel'. These terms are based on the assumption that the

180 "… ornamenti e oggetti che personalmente appartengono al defunto e vengono posti nella fossa insieme con lui, e il corredo, che rappresenta l 'equipaggiamento del sepolcro predisposto dai sopravvissuti" (Zevi 1977, 241), cited by Bartoloni (Bartoloni 2003, 206).

181 See Bartoloni *et al.* on the conceptual distinction between these two categories in the graves at Castel di Decima (Bartoloni *et al.* 1982, 267).

182 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 7. An example of such an object from Crustumerium is the attingitoio or boccale, a vessel that is frequently found in the vicinity of the deceased. Although the object may have played a role in the funerary banquet, its location in the grave suggests that it was a personal trapping of the buried individual (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5). See also Chapter 3, note 366 on the way the object has been categorised in the analyses presented in that chapter.

183 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 7. Whether the personal items actually formed part of the possessions of the deceased during his or her lifetime is another point of discussion (Parker Pearson 2005, 85-86).

184 For example Hodder 1982a, 150-154; Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 4.

185 As described by Barrett 1996, 395, referring to Binford (1972) and Saxe (1970).

186 Cougle 2009, 57.

187 Parker Pearson 2005, 85.

188 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 9.

189 Babić 2005, 83.

190 Parker Pearson 2005, 84.

191 As Bietti Sestieri has observed, the unguentaria are ´oggetti a metà strada tra elementi di corredo e oggetti personali (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 330-331, as cited by Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, note 41). In the present publication, I regard the unguentaria as forming part of the set of personal items, since they are always found in close vicinity of the deceased and never among the vessels forming the banqueting set.

vessels had been used during a banquet held in honour of the deceased, to be subsequently placed inside the tomb as a gift to the dead person. Whereas the personal items refer (almost solely) to the representation of the deceased in the tomb, the banqueting set probably bore a strong reference to the (practice performed by the) surviving community.[192]

However, although the composition of most sets alludes to a real banquet,[193] and even though iconographic sources inform us about funerary banquets,[194] we cannot be certain that the vessels had really been used by the participants in the funerary ritual. Indeed, one could argue that the vessels were being deposited in the grave because they had been used in a funerary context and should therefore be removed from the world of the living. The vessels may have never actually been used during a banqueting ceremony, but may merely have represented a symbolic meal.[195] It will be shown in Chapter 4 that the reconstruction of the function of the banqueting set is dependent on the ideological concept of the tomb and the religious belief in an afterlife. The chapter presents a comparative analysis of the composition of the banqueting set, based on the number of items, the ware groups and the function[196] of the individual vessels looking at Latial period IVA and the IVB/Archaic period. It has been found that the banqueting sets deposited in the graves at Crustumerium changed considerably from the last quarter of the 7th century BC onwards. Not only did the number of vessels dwindle, the sets also became less diverse in terms of function and ware groups. Around the middle of the 6th century BC, the tombs contained sets consisting of no more than two vessels or no set at all. The changing assemblage of the banqueting set throughout the last phase of the burial grounds provides a valuable insight into the way the funerary customs changed in that period.

2.3 Biases

There are many different factors that can obscure our understanding of past societies. The following section deals with three important biases that may influence our interpretation of mortuary variability, namely social manipulation, post-depositional processes and limitations of the archaeological method.

2.3.1 Social manipulation of the burial ritual

As has been described above,[197] scholars are nowadays increasingly aware of the misleading and inverting aspects of the funerary ritual,[198] and stress that data deriving from the investigation of a funerary area will, at maximum, result in a reconstruction of the *idealised* organisation of society, as it is reflected in a burial ground.[199] Furthermore, beliefs about death and the afterlife may have influenced the materialisation of the funerary ritual as well.[200]

In addition, scholars have grown much more aware of the fact that the funerary record generally reflects only a *selection* of the contemporary community, namely only those individuals that received a formal burial.[201] A simple guesstimate of the number of people inhabiting the settlement of Crustumerium, combined with the amount of graves and the extent of the burial grounds known to date, suggests that the people interred at the cemeteries represent only a fraction of the entire (deceased) population,[202] signalling that the dataset is by definition incomplete.[203] The selection criteria for formal burial differ between sites and periods, but in general, one may assume that only the upper strata of society are represented in the funerary archive.[204] If the observed mortuary variability is indeed indicative of differences in social status, it probably informs us only about the social stratification of a small (elite) group.

2.3.2 Post-depositional processes

Our understanding of the mortuary behaviour on the burial grounds of Crustumerium is not only

192 See note 180 above.
193 Most sets are composed of various different vessels, representing several functions such as pouring, storing, mixing, presenting and drinking.
194 Rathje 1988; Rathje 1994; Rathje 1995; Rathje 2010.
195 Parker Pearson 2005, 10.
196 The determination of the function of the vessels is primarily based on their morphological characteristics. However, the *function* of a vessel may have differed considerably from its *use* in daily practice and the multi-functional or differential use of some of the vessels can be easily overlooked. An example of this is the ciotola found inside the niche of MDB/T289. It was positioned on top of an anforetta, clearly functioning as a lid to protect the contents of the vase. Whereas the morphological characteristics of the objects suggest that it had been used for eating, its location in the niche in reference to other vessels shows that other (simultaneous) functions cannot be excluded.
197 See the section *2.2 Mortuary variability* and the section *The grave goods*; *Personal items*.
198 Hodder 1982a, 152; Jelsma 2000, 37; Parker Pearson 2005, 31-32.
199 Rebay 2006, 196.
200 Trinkhaus remarks that because of eschatological concepts expressed in mortuary practices, the social order of the living may even oppose the order of the dead (Trinkhaus 1984, 675). See also Wason 1994, 68-69.
201 Parker Pearson 2005, 5.
202 Nijboer & Willemsen 2013, 37.
203 As noted by Rebay 2006, 200.
204 Rathje 1994, 295.

biased by the manipulation of the burial rituals described above, it is also seriously challenged by several post-depositional processes that have damaged and distorted the archaeological archive. The most important biasing factors are erosion, adverse preservation conditions and illicit excavation. Each of these aspects will be described in some detail below.

Erosion

The poor preservation of many tombs is mostly due to the fact Crustumerium and its surrounding territory has been ploughed mechanically for several decades. The ploughing has resulted in a severe erosion of the upper part of the bedrock, seriously harming the archaeological archive.[205] Over the course of a few decades, the surface level of the burial grounds has probably been lowered at least a few meters. Whilst not all tombs have been so badly damaged that all archaeological information is lost, there are numerous examples of much eroded graves of which hardly anything has remained.[206] It is reasonable to assume that tombs which had been dug on a less deep level, have been completely destroyed and thus removed from the archaeological archive, forming a serious bias in our study of the burial grounds.

Since we do not know whether the plough has damaged all areas of the burial grounds in the same way, considering the fact that elevations in the landscape may have been more articulate in the past, it is impossible to mutually compare the depth of tombs that are spatially very distinct. Only if tombs are located very close to one another, it is safe to assume that they suffered from erosion equally. In these cases a comparison of their depth is permitted and instructive.

Not only the analysis of the tomb depths is challenged by the destructive effects of ploughing, so is the analysis of the distribution of the tombs. The many examples of tombs that have been preserved up to a depth of no more than 10 cm,[207] attested at various different locations on the burial grounds, indicate that a lot more (originally shallower) graves must have been completely destroyed, leaving no trace in our archaeological archive. This is a serious distorting factor in the analysis of the spatial patterning of the tombs.

Adverse preservation conditions

Another biasing factor that should be taken into account is preservation. The adverse conditions of the soils at Crustumerium have presumably not only caused the (partial) disappearance of skeletal material described below, but many objects made of organic materials must have vanished as well, leaving no trace in the archaeological archive. It is therefore reasonable to assume that an analysis of the mortuary variability based on the grave goods is by definition more or less biased.

Skeletal material

Unfortunately, most of the depositions inside the tombs at Crustumerium have been very poorly preserved. Due to the acidity of the soil, the lack of proper drainage of the tombs and because of several post-depositional processes taking place inside of them,[208] the skeletal material has generally been severely damaged or (almost) completely disappeared, as such seriously impeding a proper physical anthropological analysis.[209] The fact that the bones of children and elderly people decay more rapidly than those of young adults, could potentially result in a research bias.[210] In addition, a physical anthropological determination of the age and/or sex of a deposition often proves impossible, forcing archaeologists

205 Paolini 1990, 469; di Gennaro 1990d, 116.

206 During our own investigations we have encountered many examples of much eroded tombs, for example T253, T293, T294, T295 and T299.

207 See for example MDB/T294 and MDB/T295 in the Tomb Catalogue.boo

208 Cronyn 1990, 275-276. See also Brothwell 1972, 9-10.

209 It has to be stressed that even if the human remains have been preserved fairly well, their gender can never be determined with a 100% certainty. In the Spitalfields Project, a study of an 18th century crypt in Great Britain (Molleson & Cox 1993), the sex of hundreds of individuals was determined by means of physical anthropological investigation. It was a unique research project, because the coffin plates of the tombs had been preserved and the accurateness of the anthropological determination could thus be tested easily. It appeared that in a few instances the gender had been determined wrongly, despite the good preservation of the skeletal material (Molleson & Cox 1993, 23, cited by Toms 1998, 171). See also Díaz-Andreu on methodological problems inherent in physical anthropological analyses (Díaz-Andreu 2005, 37).

210 Morris 1992, 74. De Santis *et al.* state that not only are the children's bones generally less well preserved, their tombs are also frequently overlooked because they were not as profound as tombs pertaining to adult individuals (De Santis *et al.* 2007-2008, 725). Belelli Marchesini has signalled the same problem on the Monte Del Bufalo necropolis of Crustumerium (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 7).

to rely mostly on the archaeological determination of gender (and age).

Illicit excavation
Another distorting factor lies in the fact that the burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium have suffered a great deal from tomb robbers who have illicitly excavated dozens, if not hundreds of tombs. It needs no further clarification that these illegal activities are devastating for our understanding of the ancient site. As a rule, the robbers are not interested in the depositions or the architecture of the tombs, but aim at the (ceramic) funerary assemblage instead, which is mostly stored at the head end of a tomb. There are many examples in which the deposition and its personal ornaments were found largely intact, whereas the head niche had been emptied completely.[211] In some instances, the robbers leave a few (broken) vessels, enabling archaeologists to retrieve at least some information regarding the contents (and date) of the tomb.[212] Since the architecture of the tomb and the deposition inside it, are generally left untouched, investigating these robbed tombs has proven to be worthwhile. However, the distorting results of illicit excavation have to be taken into careful consideration.

2.3.3 Limitations of the archaeological method
A final distorting factor lies in the limitations of the archaeological method concerning the analysis and interpretation of the mortuary attributes.[213] The burial practice will have comprised many elements that have not left a material residue; for example feasting, flowers and speeches.[214] An all-encompassing reconstruction of the funerary ritual and all its social repercussions is therefore not possible.

It should further be stressed that the funerary ritual was just one medium, albeit a very powerful one, to represent and shape lived experience, both ritual and mundane.[215] The reconstruction of the societal tissue of the living community can therefore not solely be based on the evidence collected on the burial grounds. Other aspects, such as the lay-out and development of the settlement should ultimately be taken into consideration as well.[216] Indeed, the NWO project of the GIA called 'The People and the State' aims at combining the archaeological data from the settlement, the wider territory and the burial grounds, in order to draw up a more elaborate and synthetic reconstruction of the community that once inhabited Crustumerium.

211 An example is T232, a fossa tomb of which the head niche had been emptied almost completely, whilst the skeletal remains of the female deposition and the elaborate set of accompanying personal objects in the fossa had been left untouched (see the Tomb Catalogue).
212 Examples of this practice from the GIA excavations are T76, T259/T281 and T284 (see the Tomb Catalogue.).
213 See Jelsma 2000, 43.
214 Fahlander & Oestigaard 2008, 6; Wason 1994, 69.
215 After Parker Pearson 2005, 86.
216 Jelsma 2000, 44.

3

A CHANGING FUNERARY RITUAL AT CRUSTUMERIUM

This chapter aims at providing a comprehensive description of the changes in the funerary ritual that occurred at the burial grounds of Crustumerium from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards (i.e. during Latial period IVB and the Archaic period), based on the archaeological observations collected during excavation work on the site. After a brief outline of the development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium from Latial period IIB until the IVB/Archaic period, the chapter looks at the latter period in more detail, zooming in on the changes that occurred in each of the four mortuary domains described in Chapter 2; namely the grave construction, the placement in the burial ground, the grave goods and the body.

3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium

The earliest burials at Crustumerium date to Latial period IIB2,[217] but only a small number of graves can be attributed to this phase with certainty.[218] Most tombs of this period contained adult females which had been buried with a fusaiola and a few personal ornaments.[219] The funerary assemblage usually consisted of four to five vases (sometimes adorned with linear decoration), placed alongside the body (see fig. 3.1).[220] The tazza and the attingitoio were usually placed behind the head, whilst the orciolo and the anforetta can be found at the tibia or near the feet.[221] Metal vessels seldom occur in graves from this period.[222] As a rule, the body of the deceased was placed in supine position on the floor of the tomb.[223] There are only two examples of child burials dating to Latial period III; both of them are female individuals.[224]

A preliminary study of the spatial distribution of the tombs in this period indicates that there must have been family plots in which tombs of different generations were carefully inserted. In an attempt to exploit all the available space within the plot the older graves are sometimes partially intersected by the younger ones.[225] In one part of Monte Del Bufalo (near the Via della Marcigliana) the distribution of the tombs seems to follow a radial pattern, but not all tombs are arranged according to this principle.[226] The orientation of the early tombs varies between NNE and ENE.[227] These tombs are generally quite small; their length varies between 240 and 250 cm, without a clear standardisation.[228] Children were occasionally buried in fossa tombs that were even smaller than that.[229]

The reason why only a relatively small number of tombs can be attributed to this period is not clear, but it may indicate that the population inhabiting the settlement Crustumerium was still quite small at that time.[230] One could further assume that the funerary ritual was very restricted in this period, allowing only a few selected individuals a formal burial. Alternatively, one may hypothesise that the oldest tombs have not been noticed in the archaeological examinations. Tombs pertaining to this period may have been primarily located in an area that has not been investigated as of yet, or they may have disappeared from the archaeological record due to erosion

217 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4, note 16.

218 di Gennaro and Belelli Marchesini state that 19% of all tombs investigated at Monte Del Bufalo pertain to the period between IIB2 and the beginnings of Latial period IV (di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 18). This percentage may now have to be lowered, since the on-going excavations at Crustumerium have not yielded any more tombs from this period.

219 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15. The only traces of male burials from this period consist of stray finds of bronze weapons (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4). The female set of personal ornaments in this period consists of a pair of fibulae (either *a sanguisuga* or *ad arco ingrossato*) adorned with incised suspension rings, and a necklace of bronze or glass paste beads (Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011, 323).

220 Amoroso 2002a, 300, fig. 8; di Gennaro & Amoroso 2004, 151; di Gennaro *et al.* 2007a, 136-137, fig. 1.

221 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

222 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4-5. However, tomb 156 yielded a bronze tazza (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5, note 17).

223 Traces of tree trunks or coffins have not been found inside these tombs (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4).

224 Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011, 324-325.

225 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

226 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15, fig. 3.

227 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4; Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press.

228 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press.

229 Nijboer & Belelli Marchesini, in preparation.

230 Evidence in favour of this hypothesis can be found in the fact that the surveys of the settlement area yielded only a few scattered ceramic fragments pertaining to this period (Amoroso 2002a, 298-305).

Figure 3.1 Example of a Latial period IIB grave (MDB/T018) (di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, fig. 4).

of the bedrock as a result of ploughing, assuming that these early tombs were considerably less deep than tombs of later periods.[231] Looking at the distribution of tombs at other (Latial) burial grounds, where IIB/III are generally surrounded by tombs from later periods, the latter theory is more probable.

Whereas tombs dating to Latial period IIB/III are quite rare at Crustumerium,[232] a much larger number of tombs have been attributed to Latial period III/IVA,[233] suggesting a considerable increase of the use of the burial grounds.[234] In addition, the architectural lay-out of the tombs began to change around the transition from period III to IVA (see fig. 3.2). The fossa was enlarged and a niche was added at the head end.[235] The niche was designed to hold the (ceramic) funerary assemblage,[236] and was closed off with one or more large tuff slabs or a pile of tuff chunks and earth.[237] The deceased (together with its personal belongings) was generally buried in a tree trunk or coffin, inside a small ditch in the floor of the fossa.[238] Horizontal tuff slabs, resting on small ridges on the lateral sides of the fossa covered the burial.[239] The tuff slabs were generally cut out of the bedrock inside the tomb itself. Around the beginning of the 7th century a harder red tuff sort, the so-called Fidenae tuff was being used as well,[240] which probably derived from a quarry in the vicinity of Crustumerium.[241]

Large tombs containing elaborate funerary assemblages start to appear on the burial grounds around the end of the 8th century.[242] Some female tombs contained *sgabelli poggiapiedi*[243] and elaborate *parures*[244] consisting of bronze and amber objects.[245] Male burials, which occur more frequently than in the previous period,[246] were accompanied with sets of weapons in iron and bronze.[247] Many tombs further contained various bronze vessels, referring to the ritual consumption of wine and the distribution and consumption of meat and bread, suggesting that a banqueting ritual took place at some point during the funerary ritual.[248]

Child burials are very rare in the 7th century BC, but there are a few examples of children buried in *enchytrismos* tombs; i.e. inside a dolium deposited

231 Belelli Marchesini assumes that other burial grounds dating to the same period have been destroyed by erosion as a result of ploughing (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press).

232 An explanation for the limited number of tombs may be that the earliest tombs were not as deep as the later ones and have thus suffered more from erosion as a result of ploughing (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 8).

233 The fact that the tombs have been grouped into these overarching categories obscures their actual attribution to one period or the other. As regards the Latial period III/IVA tombs, it should be noted that the majority dates to IVA and only a small number can be attributed to (the final phase of) Latial period III.

234 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press. This development has been observed at the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, but may have applied to the other funerary areas as well.

235 See for example MDB/T223 in the Tomb Catalogue.

236 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5. See *Appendix 1: Tomb typology*. for a more in depth description of the tomb types.

237 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6; Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press.

238 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5.

239 This practice has been attested in MDB/T076 (see the Tomb Catalogue).

240 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6.

241 di Gennaro believes that the red tuff may for example have located near the Fosso di Settebagni (di Gennaro 2003, 35). An example of a tomb furnished with a closing system that solely consisted of blocks hewn out of Fidenae tuff is MDB/T071 (see the Tomb Catalogue).

242 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

243 I.e. footstools.

244 A *parure* is the set of ornaments adorning the body.

245 See Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6 for a detailed description.

246 Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011, 326, see fig. 6. See also Catalano *et al.* 2008.

247 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6.

248 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6-7.

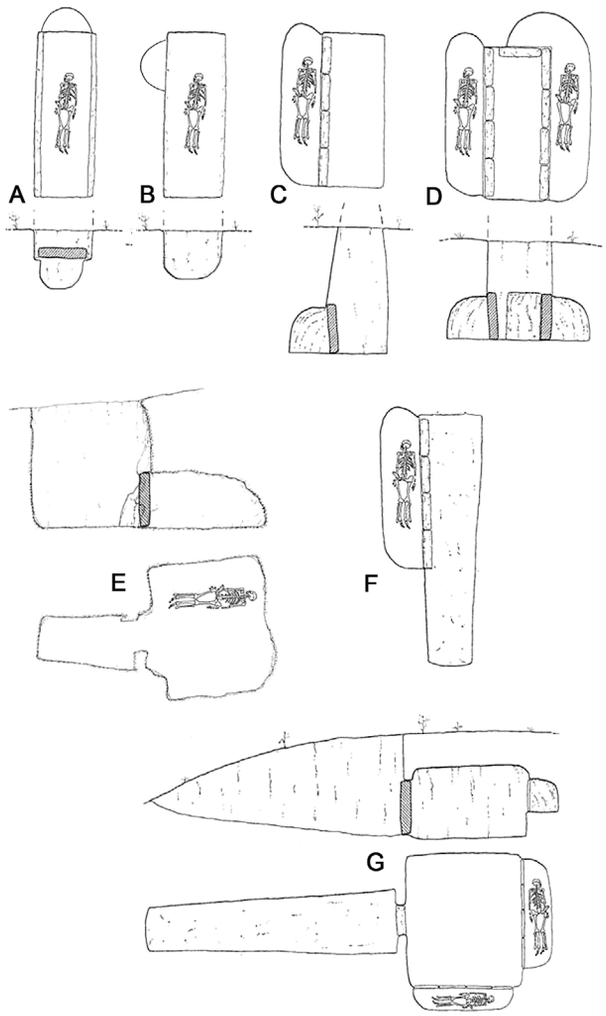


Figure 3.2 Seriation of the tomb types identified at Crustumerium (A: fossa tomb with head niche, B: fossa tomb with lateral niche, C: loculus tomb (tipo Narce), D: double loculus tomb (tipo Montarano), E: chamber tomb, F: dromos with loculus (tipo Monte Michele), G: chamber tomb with loculi (Belelli Marchesini 2013, fig. 3).

in a small pit.[249] In addition, a few child graves have recently surfaced near the settlement area, consisting of small fossa tombs with a lateral niche, closed off with tuff blocks. The children were accompanied by some personal ornaments and some vessels.[250]

The tomb type that occurs most frequently at Crustumerium is the loculus tomb[251] (*tipo Narce* and *tipo Montarano*), introduced around the end of the 8th century BC[252] and still in use around 530-520 BC.[253] The transversal entrance shaft or caditoia of this tomb type was generally much deeper and longer than the shaft of the simpler fossa tomb.[254] During the first half of the 7th century BC, the dimensions of the caditoia had been rather standardised and the loculi were at that time generally closed off with four large, vertically placed tuff slabs, cut out of the local bedrock.

A number of loculus tombs dating to the first quarter of the 7th century BC and containing elaborate sets of personal ornaments and bronze vessels, resemble the fossa tombs of the previous period.[255] Inside these tombs, the dead were mostly placed in coffins in supine position, oriented towards the north. The banqueting set was placed behind the head and consisted of a maximum of about 50 objects. The olla (a coppette) and a set of tazzine formed the core of the assemblage and were presumably used for libation and the *circumpotatio* ritual.[256] Personal ornamentation was reduced, but gender indications were always present; spindle whorls, spools and distaffs in female graves and arms in male tombs.[257] Male burials again occur more frequently in this period, than in the previous one,[258] but they are still far less numerous than the female ones. Most tombs were directed towards the NE or ENE, but the variation in orientation ranges from W to E.

The time span ranging from Latial Period IVB to the Archaic period marks the last phase of the burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium, since the settlement gradually lost its urban characteristics from the beginning of the 5th century BC onwards and the burial grounds were by that time probably no longer in use. The most apparent developments of the IVB/Archaic period are the introduction of the (multi-depositional) chamber tomb, the increasing variation in the orientation of the tombs and the decrease and finally the total cease of the deposition of gifts in the grave.[259] The reduction of the funerary wealth has not only been noted for the chamber tombs, but also for the fossa and loculus tombs which were much smaller than the IVA examples. The people that were interred during the last period of use of the burial grounds were probably no longer accompanied by a single object.[260]

The changes in the burial customs that occurred during this last phase of the burial grounds, forms the main theme of this chapter. The following four sections will zoom in on the mortuary domains

249 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 7.
250 Jarva 2013 *et al.*, 6-11; Jarva 2010, 75-78.
251 See for example MDB/T255, MDB/T258, MDB/T281 and MDB/T283 in the Tomb Catalogue.
252 See *Appendix 1: Tomb typology*.
253 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 7.
254 Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011, 327.
255 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9. See also Nijboer & Willemsen 2012, 32-35.
256 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9-10.
257 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9.
258 Belelli Marchesini & di Gennaro 2011, 326, see fig. 6. See also Catalano *et al.* 2008.
259 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 12-13.
260 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17.

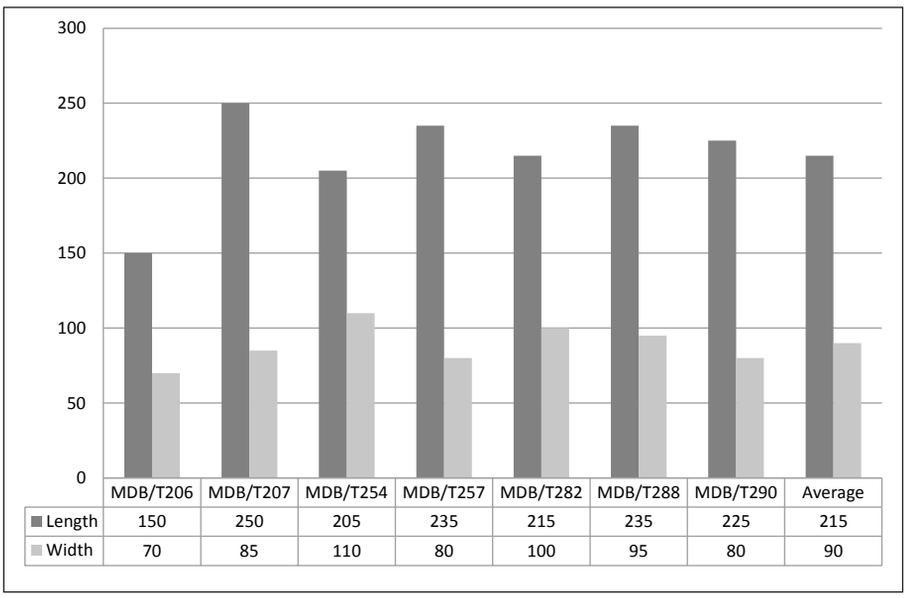


Figure 3.3 Dimensions of the shafts in the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs (showing length and width).

described in Chapter 2, namely the grave construction, the spatial characteristics, the grave contents and the body.[261] Each section describes the most important changes that occurred within that domain by drawing a comparison between Latial period IVA and the IVB/Archaic period. Because of the variable level of preservation of the tombs and their contents, and because of the diverse quality of the documentation of the various excavations, the analyses presented in the following are based on diverse samples of tombs. The tombs selected for analysis and the selection criteria have been specified in the notes.

3.2 Grave construction

The funerary architecture of the tombs at Crustumerium altered from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards. Some changes were rather subtle, consisting of minor adaptations of the design and lay-out of the traditional tomb types and of alterations of some of the architectonic features inside the tombs (for example the closing system). However, a more radical change that occurred around the same time was the introduction of two completely new tomb types; the chamber tomb and the so-called Monte Michele tomb.

The following section will first describe the alterations that occurred in the traditional funerary architecture, focusing on the fossa and the loculus tombs. It takes the alterations in their size, depth and lay-out into account, and looks at the changing character of the closing system inside these tombs as well. The section is followed by a description of the new tomb types which deals with their most remarkable characteristics.

3.2.1 Alterations in traditional tomb architecture

The lay-out of some 'traditional' tomb types that had been in use at Crustumerium during Latial period IIB2 to IVA underwent smaller and larger alterations from the middle of the 7th century onwards. Both the simple fossa tombs and the fossa tombs with a head niche had been reduced in terms of dimensions and simplified in terms of their architectonic lay-out.[262] The reduction of dimensions and the simplification of the architectonic lay-out is most apparent in the *tipo Narce* tombs, as the following comparative analysis of these tomb types dating to Latial period

261 Other than described in Chapter 2, 'multi-deposition' is not dealt with in the mortuary domain 'Placement in the burial ground', but as part of the domain 'The body'. This is because on the burial grounds of Crustumerium multi-deposition is strongly related to secondary deposition, a topic that falls under the latter funerary domain.

262 Belelli Marchesini has noted that the large fossa tombs with a head niche, characteristic of Latial period III, appeared in a much more simplified and dimensionally reduced form already in Latial period IVA (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press). She argues therefore that the larger fossa tombs in the Southern Area of the Marcigliana burial group should be dated before the smaller fossa tombs in the northern area, which show a tendency to clustering (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press).

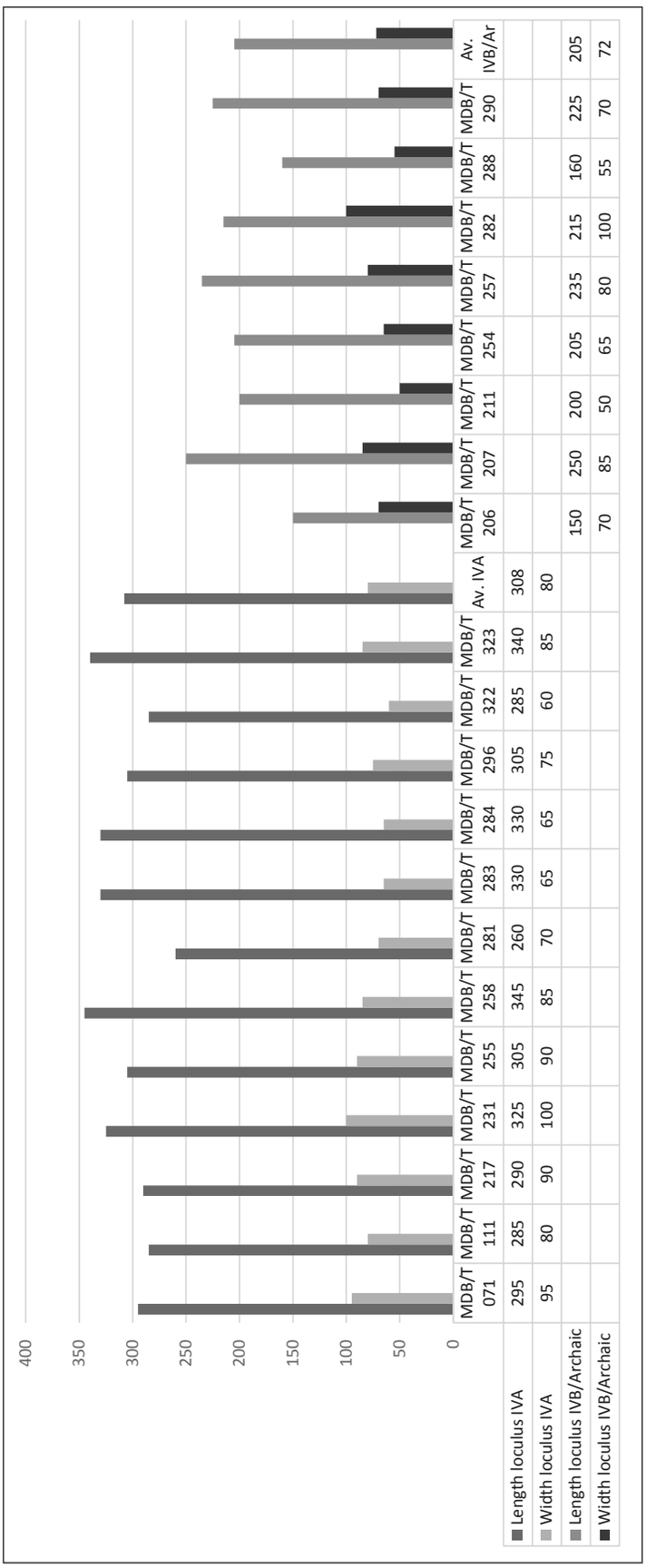


Figure 3.4 Dimensions of the loculi in IVA and IVB/Archaic loculus tombs (showing length and width).

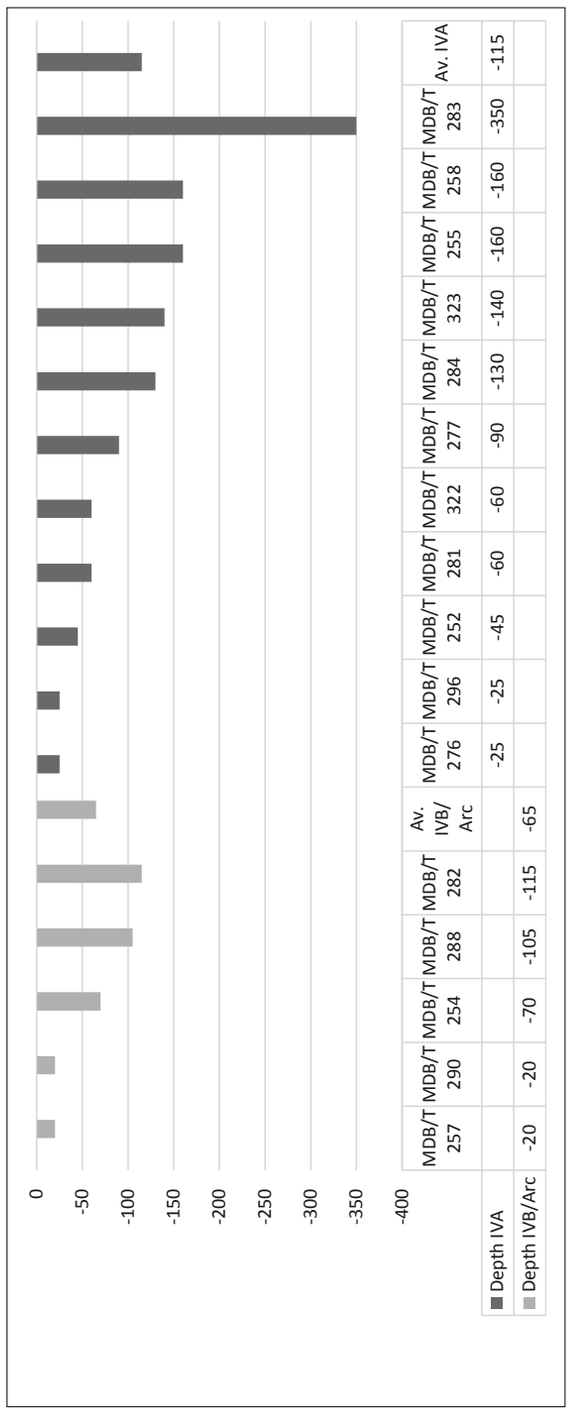


Figure 3.5 Overview of tomb depths of IVA and IVB/ Archaic loculus tombs.

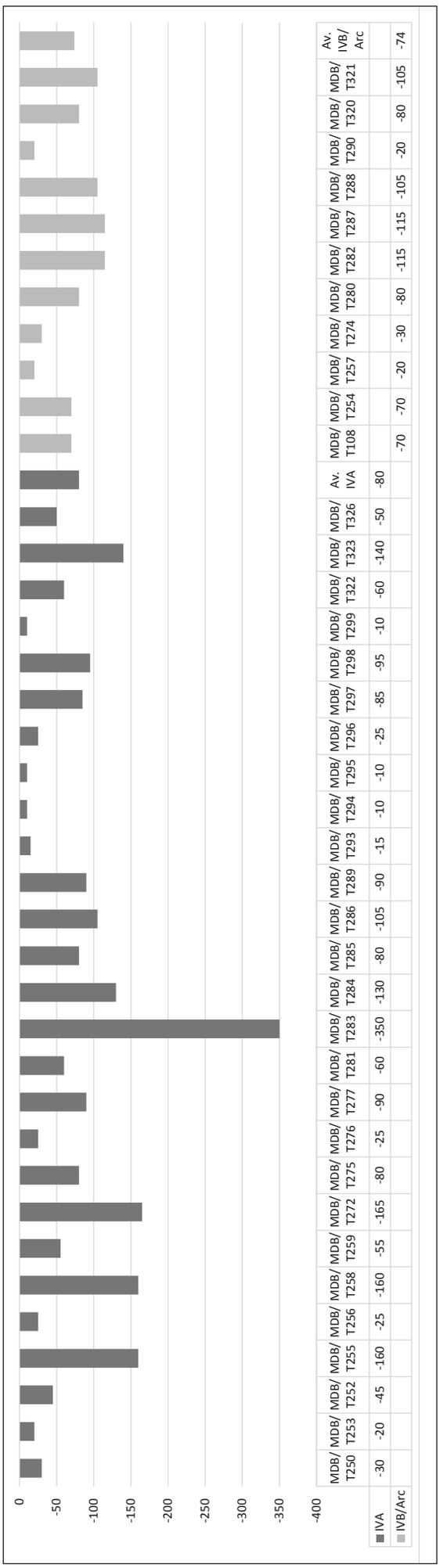


Figure 3.6 Overview of tomb depths in the Fossato Area (specifying IVA and IVB/Archaic tombs).

IVA[263] and those attributed to the IVB/Archaic period[264] will show.

In terms of dimensions, both the shafts and the loculi of the IVB/Archaic *tipo* Narce tombs were considerably smaller than those of the IVA exemplars. The average (standardised) size of the shafts (2.80-2.90 x 1.00-1.10 m) [265] of the IVA tombs, was later reduced to an average length of about 2.15 m and an average width of about 0.90 m (see fig. 3.3). As regards the size of the loculi,[266] the sepulchral niches of the IVA tombs (average length: ca. 3.05 m, average width: 0.80 m) were considerably larger than those of the IVB/Archaic tombs (average length: 2.05 m, average width: ca. 0.70 m) (see fig. 3.4).

Belelli Marchesini has noted that the depth of the shafts of the loculus tombs altered as well; the *tipo Narce* tombs of the IVB/Archaic period are believed to have been much shallower than the ones created during Latial period IVA.[267] Unfortunately, information regarding the overall average depth of the earlier loculus tombs is limited. An inventory of the IVA loculus tombs excavated by the GIA indicates, however, that the average depth of the shafts[268] in this

263 The following *tipo Narce* tombs have been attributed to Latial period IVA and have been used for the analyses presented in this section: MDB/T071, MDB/T111, MDB/T217, MDB/T231, MDB/T255, MDB/T258, MDB/T281, MDB/T283, MDB/T284, MDB/T296, MDB/T322 and MDB/T323.

264 The following *tipo Narce* tombs have been attributed to the IVB/Archaic period and have been used for the analyses presented in this section: MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T254, MDB/T257, MDB/T282, MDB/T288 and MDB/T290.

265 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, note 53. The shaft could reach a length of at least 3.20 m.

266 Since detailed information regarding all IVA loculus tombs is unfortunately not avalaible, the comparative analysis of the size of the loculi is based on the examples of IVA *tipo* Narce tombs encountered in the GIA excavations, as listed in note 263.

267 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 18, note 53.

268 The depth of the tomb is the maximum depth of the floor level of the entrance shaft, calculated from the surface level of the bedrock at that location. Since a large part of the bedrock must have disappeared as a result of erosion due to ploughing, the depth measurements represent the depth of the tombs as far as they have been preserved to date. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reconstruct the original depths, partly because one may suspect that erosion did not damage every part of the burial grounds in the same way (some tombs have probably suffered less than others). Therefore, the tomb depths cited in this chapter should be regarded as the minimum value of the original depth of the tombs, and it should be noted that most tombs were originally (considerably) deeper.

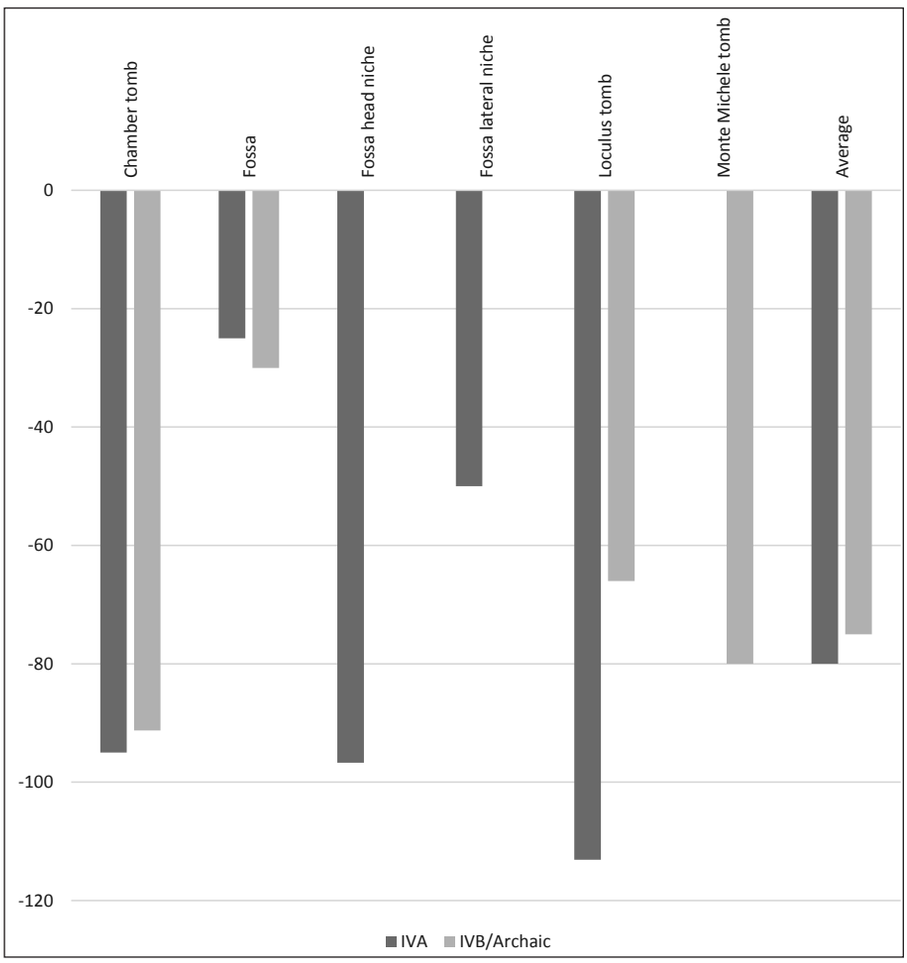


Figure 3.7 Comparison of the average tomb depths per tomb type and period (IVA and IVB/Archaic) in the Fossato Area.

period was about 1.15 m. The loculus tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period investigated by the GIA had an average of about 0.65 m (see fig. 3.5).

However, since the average depth of the tombs in both periods has been determined based on the characteristics of graves from various locations on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, and because the variation in tomb depths within one period was considerable, it is probable that the analyses of the tomb depths are biased by the differential effect that erosion must have had on different parts of the burial grounds.[269] Presuming that erosion had a similar (destructive) influence on tombs that were located very close to one another, a comparative analysis of closely spaced tombs can possibly minimise the above mentioned biasing effect. A comparative analysis of the tombs located in the Fossato Area,[270] a small part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, reveals that even within this small area, the variation in tomb depth was considerable, ranging from 0.10 to 3.50 m deep, with an average of a little under 0.80 m.[271] The analysis also shows, however, that the tomb depths of the Latial period IVA tombs do not differ very much from the depths of the IVB/Archaic ones; the average depth of the IVA tombs is 0.80 m, the average depth of the later tombs is about 0.75 m (see fig. 3.6). Leaving out the exceptionally deep MDB/T283 (ca. 3.50 m deep), the average depth of the IVA tombs is even less than that of the late tombs (ca. 0.70 m). In the Fossato Area the reduction of the tomb depth apparently only applied to the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs (see fig. 3.7).[272]

However, the overall depth of the tombs at the Fossato Area is not considerable and varies

269 See also Chapter 2, *2.3.2 Post-depositional processes*; *Erosion*.

270 See for a precise definition of the area the section *3.3.2 Monte Del Bufalo – Fossato Area*.

271 Detailed information regarding the depth is available for the following 38 tombs from the Fossato Area; MDB/T108, MDB/T250, MDB/T252, MDB/T253, MDB/T254, MDB/T255, MDB/T256, MDB/T257, MDB/T258, MDB/T259, MDB/T272, MDB/T274, MDB/T275, MDB/T276, MDB/T277, MDB/T280, MDB/T281, MDB/T282, MDB/T283, MDB/T284, MDB/T285, MDB/T286, MDB/T287, MDB/T288, MDB/T289, MDB/T290, MDB/T293, MDB/T294, MDB/T295, MDB/T296, MDB/T297, MDB/T298, MDB/T299, MDB/T320, MDB/T321, MDB/T322, MDB/T323 and MDB/T326.

272 The IVA loculus tombs have an average depth of ca. 1.15 m; the late ones are about 0.65 m deep.

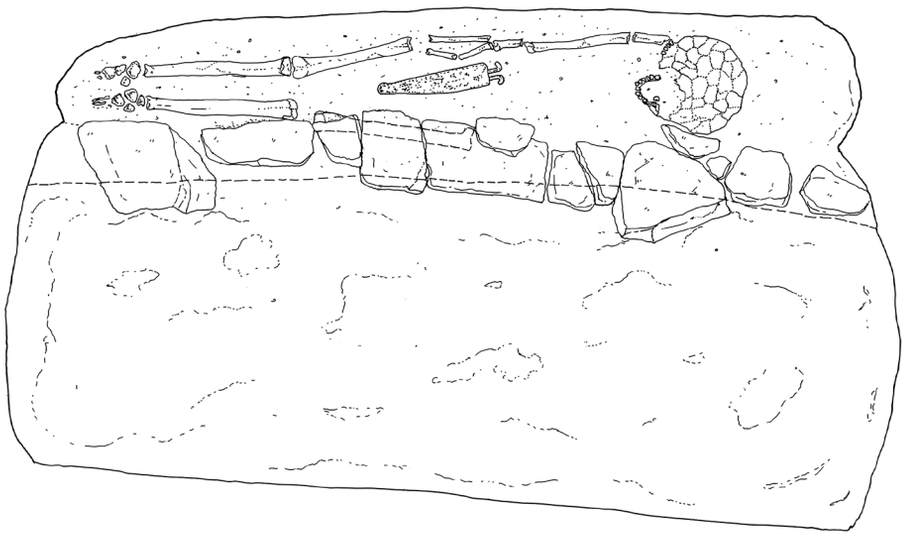


Figure 3.8 Example of a loculus tomb with a very narrow sepulchral niche (MDB/T207) (courtesy of the SSBAR).

relatively little. The fact that the area may have been used for quarrying acticities[273] further complicates the interpretation of the patterns described above. A comparative analysis of the tomb depths on another area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground could indicate whether the results from the Fossato Area are mostly site-specific or whether they correspond to a general trend.

Turning back to the alterations in the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs, it has been noted that not only their dimensions and their depths differed from those of the previous period, their lay-out was different as well. Whilst the tipo Narce tombs of the early 7th century were furnished with a large sepulchral loculus and an ample connected apsidal niche (often embracing part of the short side of the shaft),[274] the lay-out of the loculus tombs dating to the late 7th and 6th centuries is rather different.[275] First of all, the loculi were generally much shorter, mostly not exceeding the length of the shaft,[276] or only a little bit.[277] Secondly, the loculi were mostly very narrow and only just large enough to hold the body of the deceased (see fig. 3.8).[278] An apsidal niche was either absent,[279] or reduced to a very small semi-circular extension at the head end.[280]

Changing closing systems

Apart from the small alterations of individual elements of the traditional tomb architecture, another notable change occurred in the systems that closed off (elements of) the tombs. Until the middle of the 7th century BC, (individual elements of) the tombs had generally been closed off with a row of monumental, regularly cut tuff slabs, either placed horizontally to cover the deposition,[281] or vertically to close off the niche (and the loculus).[282] As a rule, the slabs were all hewn out of the same tuff type, either of local origin or imported from further away (i.e. the red, so-called Fidenae tuff).[283]

From the middle of the 7th century onwards, there is a tendency towards the use of less monumental closing systems.[284] Instead of the large, rectangular blocks used in the previous period, loculi and head niches were now often being closed off with irregular

273 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26.

274 See for example MDB/T258, MDB/T283 and MDB/T284, investigated during the GIA excavations (see the Tomb Catalogue).

275 The following tombs are late examples of loculus tombs: MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T211 and MDB/T254, MDB/T257, MDB/T282, MDB/T288 and MDB/T290. Note that the architecture MDB/T252 resembles that of MDB/T290 quite strongly, but the former is markedly different in terms of its content (consisting of a banqueting set and a number of personal objects). For this reason, MDB/T252 has not been incorporated in the analysis.

276 See MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T254, MDB/T288 and MDB/T290 in the Tomb Catalogue.

277 See MDB/T206, MDB/T257 and MDB/T282 in the Tomb Catalogue.

278 See MDB/T207, MDB/T254 and MDB/T290 in the Tomb Catalogue.

279 See MDB/T211, MDB/T254, MDB/T288 and MDB/T290 in the Tomb Catalogue.

280 See MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T257 and MDB/T282 in the Tomb Catalogue.

281 See for example MDB/T076.

282 Clear examples of tombs with such a closing system from the GIA excavations are MDB/T071, MDB/T076, MDB/T111, MDB/T217, MDB/T223, MDB/T231, MDB/T255, MDB/T258, MDB/T281, MDB/T283 and MDB/T284 (see the Tomb Catalogue).

283 A good example of a tomb where solely Fidenae tuff was used for the creation of the closing system is MDB/T071.

284 There are exceptions to this general trend. The loculus of MDB/T111, which presumably dates to the second half of the 7th century BC, was closed off with three enormous tuff blocks (see the Tomb Catalogue).

Figure 3.9 Closing system of MDB/T288 showing part of a sarcophagus lid (photo GIA).

piles of rubble, consisting of (re-used) tuff chunks of both local and Fidenae tuff.[285] Examples of head niches closed off with piles of various types of (re-used) tuff stones instead of regularly cut blocks have been found at Monte Del Bufalo in at least two instances.[286] Walls consisting of (re-used) tuff rubble or very small, poor quality tuff stones closing off loculi were fairly common in the IVB/Archaic period and have been encountered in six tombs at Monte Del Bufalo (see fig. 3.9)[287] and in four tombs at Sasso Bianco.[288] In addition, there are two examples of loculus tombs without a closing system of tuff.[289] The loculi of these tombs may have been closed off with some sort of perishable organic material,[290] or they may not have been closed at all.

A remarkable feature of the last period is the re-use of (architectural) tuff elements such as (part of) columns, sarcophagus lids or *cippi* in the shafts and closing systems of the tombs.[291] Among the pile of tuff chunks closing off the loculus of MDB/T288 for example, was a broken sarcophagus lid. Fragments of columns have been encountered in the closing systems of various different tombs.[292] The shaft of MDB/T254 yielded an almost complete funerary *cippo* (see fig. 3.10)[293] and the loculus of MDB/T211 had been closed off with the lower part of a reused *cippo a colonetta*.[294]

3.2.2 Introduction of new tomb types

Other than the minor alterations in the architecture of the traditional types, the introduction of two new architectonic types (the *tomba a tipo Monte Michele* and the chamber tomb) around the middle of the 7th century BC constituted a somewhat more radical change.

The Monte Michele tombs consisted of a long dromos with a sloping floor level,[295] and a loculus at the end of one of the lateral sides. The loculus housed the corpse and was generally closed off with tuff blocks,[296] a pile of tuff rubble,[297] or with tiles.[298] So far, tombs *a tipo Monte Michele* have been found almost exclusively at the Sasso Bianco burial ground;[299] there is at least only one clear example of this tomb type

285 As noted by Belelli Marchesini (Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9; Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press).

286 MDB/T289 and MDB/T297. Another possible example is MDB/T313. The head end of this tomb was closed off from above by a layer of tuff chunks. Note that MDB/T313 does not have a proper niche at the head end; a row of small, rectangular tuff blocks marked the division between burial and banqueting set, but the niche formed part of the shaft itself and did not have a ceiling. The pile of tuff blocks on top of the banqueting set was possibly intended as a replacement for the missing ceiling of the niche.

287 Closing systems consisting of tuff rubble and reused material were found in MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T288 and MDB/T296; closing walls of small tuff blocks of poor quality have been found in MDB/T257 and MDB/T290.

288 SB/T018, SB/T019, SB/T023 and SB/T031.

289 MDB/T206 and MDB/T282.

290 Indications for the use of organic material have been found in MDB/T254. The loculus of MDB/T254 had been partially closed off with piled up re-used tuff chunks, but these did not cover the entire entrance of the loculus. Where tuff closing blocks were apparently absent, we have found dark, line-shaped discolorations on the floor level in front of the loculus, possibly indicating the former presence of wooden planks, used to close off the sepulchral niche.

291 These elements are generally easily recognisable, because they are hewn out of Fidenae tuff.

292 Column fragments occurred in MDB/T289, MDB/T296, SB/T001, SB/T018 and SB/T020. See Paolini 1990, 470 on SB/T020.

293 The shaft of MDB/T301 contained two monumental *cippi*, one of which was still completely intact. Although this tomb had been robbed of almost all of its contents, the architecture of the tomb suggests that it dates earlier than the examples cited above, namely to the 7th century BC.

294 See the Tomb Catalogue.

295 I.e. a dromos *a scivolo* (di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17).

296 SB/T018. Two blocks were found; one on the left and one on the right side. The one on the left was pilar-shaped.

297 SB/T019, SB/T023 and SB/T025.

298 MDB/T320.

299 SB/T018, SB/T019, SB/T023 and SB/T025.

Table 3.1 Overview of the characteristics of the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs.

Tomb nr.	Type of entrance	Stepped (yes/no/ unknown)	Orientation	Length entrance	Depth entrance	Stipites	Closing system	Shape chamber	Length chamber (min/ max)	Width chamber (min/ max)	Width entrance shaft (min/max)	Width entrance	Height chamber	Total nr. of loculi	Total nr. of depositions
CG/T001	Dromos	Unknown	NW/SE	800	-	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	-/350	390	140/210	170	-	0	2
CG/T016	Dromos	Unknown		-	-	Y	Slabs	Irregular, rectangular	-/225	170	-	85	-	2	4
CG/T020	Dromos	Unknown	NNW/SSE	420	-	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	280/300	240/280	-	90	135	0	2
MDB/T016	Dromos	Yes	ESE/WNW	250	-	N	Rubble pile	Rectangular	-/185	235	100/130	130	95	0	3
MDB/T025	Dromos	Unknown	WNW/ESE	235	30	N	Slabs	Rectangular	-/260	320	100/140	140	95	0	4
MDB/T029	Dromos	Yes	N/S	350	-	Y	Slabs	Rectangular	-/280	230/330	100	60	-	1	3
MDB/T032	Dromos	Unknown	W/E	475	115	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	220/260	250/290	110/145	80	155	2	4
MDB/T060	Dromos	Yes	NNE/SSW	600	140	Y	Slabs	Rectangular	-/300	-/310	120	80	-	1	3
MDB/T108	Dromos	Yes	S/N	250	70	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	-/230	220/265	120/160	70	> 65	1	3
MDB/T109	Dromos	Unknown	E/W	250	-	Y	Slabs	Square	-	-	-	-	155	2	4
MDB/T110	Dromos	Úknown	-	-	-	Y	Slabs	Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
MDB/T132	Dromos	Úknown	NE/SW	440	-	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	-/260	160/220	105/140	80	-	1	2
MDB/T187	Dromos	No	NNW/SSE	330	105	N	Rubble pile	Irregular, ellipsoid	-/200	235	90/120	120	110	2	3
MDB/T192	Unknown	Unknown	NE/SW	170	-	N	Slabs	Rectangular	-/210	170	100/150	150	-	2	2
MDB/T193	Dromos	Unknown	WSW/ENE	190	-	N	Slabs	Rectangular	-/290	260	100/130	130	-	1	2
MDB/T222	Dromos/ caditoia	Yes	NE/SW	350	285	N	Slabs	Irregular, ellipsoid	-/435	375	90/130	130	< 135	3	5
MDB/T229	Dromos	Úknown	N/S	400	-	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	200/220	230	85/115	85	170	1	1
MDB/T244	Dromos	Yes	WSW/ENE	420	180	Y	Slabs	Trapezoidal	200/230	260/300	90/130	85	> 60	2	3
MDB/T287	Dromos	Yes	NNW/SSE	260	110	N	Slabs	Irregular, rectangular	-/290	150/200	110/140	140	120	0	2
MDB/T321	Dromos	Úknown	NW/SE	400	105	N	Slabs	Trapezoidal	-/235	235/265	90/105	105	170	4	7

Table 3.2 Overview of the characteristics of the loculi of the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs.

Loculus nr.	Location	Position	Closed off (Yes/No)	Closing System	Width/length	Shape	Nr of depositions in the loculus
CG/T005/01*	Chamber	Back wall	No	-	65/190	Elongated, straight short sides	2
CG/T016/01	Chamber	Right wall	No	-	60/200	Kidney-shaped	1
CG/T016/02*	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles	65/290	Elongated, straight short sides	2
MDB/T029/01*	Chamber	Back wall	Yes	Tiles	55/190	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T032/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	70/195	Elongated, articulate rounded short sides	2
MDB/T032/02*	Chamber	Left wall	No	-	60/140	Semi-circular	0
MDB/T060/01*	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles	60/175	Elongated, straight short sides	1
MDB/T108/01*	Chamber	Right wall	No	-	50/190	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T109/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	-/-	Elongated, articulate rounded short sides	3
MDB/T109/02*	Chamber	Back wall	Yes	Tiles	-/-	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T110/01*	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	-/-	Unknown	1
MDB/T132/01*	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles	55/230	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T187/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	55/180	Kidney-shaped	1
MDB/T187/02*	Dromos	Left side	Yes	Tuff blocks	45/190	Irregularly shaped	1
MDB/T192/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	40/195	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T192/02*	Chamber	Left wall	No	-	50/200	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T193/01*	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	40/210	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T222/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	65/205	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T222/02	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles	65/235	Elongated, articulate rounded short sides	1
MDB/T222/03*	Chamber	Right wall (back)	Yes	Tiles	55/185	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T229/01*	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles	70/240	Elongated, straight short sides	1
MDB/T244/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	55/205	Elongated, oblique/rounded short sides	1
MDB/T244/02*	Chamber	Left wall	No	-	50/190	Elongated, straight short sides	0
MDB/T321/01	Chamber	Right wall	Yes	Tiles	60/235	Elongated, straight short sides	2
MDB/T321/02	Chamber	Left wall	Yes	Tiles and tuff chunks	50/200	Elongated, straight short sides	3
MDB/T321/03	Chamber	Back wall	Yes	Tiles	80/215	Elongated, straight short sides	1
MDB/T321/04*	Dromos	Left side	No	-	70/-	Elongated, straight short sides	1

Figure 3.10 Funerary cippo in the shaft of MDB/T254 (photo GIA).

at Monte Del Bufalo.[300] As regards the positioning of the banqueting vessels inside the Monte Michele tombs, the funerary assemblage was sometimes placed behind the head of the deceased,[301] sometimes alongside the body,[302] or inside the caditoia, apparently lacking a clear relation to the deposition.[303]

The introduction of the chamber tomb at Crustumerium is more or less contemporaneous with the appearance of the tipo Monte Michele tombs. Other than the rather sporadically attested Monte Michele tomb, the chamber tomb occurs very frequently on the burial grounds surrounding the settlement; the type has been identified at Campo Grande,[304] Sasso Bianco,[305] Cisterna Grande[306] and at Monte Del Bufalo.[307]

The earliest chamber tombs consist of an irregularly carved, quadrangular chamber of only about 70-80 cm high that could be reached by means of a caditoia.[308] At this early stage, the shafts of the chambers are still very comparable to those of the loculus tombs, especially in terms of their dimensions. The (decentred) entrance of the chamber was closed off with large tuff blocks.[309]

In the simple chambers dating around the middle of the 7th century BC, the dead were placed directly on the floor, accompanied by their personal ornaments and a banqueting set, which was generally relatively elaborate.[310] Most of these early chamber tombs housed only one deposition.[311]

Later on, the simple shaft entrances of the first chamber tombs developed into proper dromoi, with or without steps.[312] Meanwhile, there is a development towards a 'normalizzazione' of the dimensions of the

300 Being MDB/T320. The architectonic lay-out of MDB/T336, which has been investigated during the excavation of 2013 seems to correspond to the Monte Michele type as well. Due to the fact that the tomb suffered severely from erosion, only the lowest part of the shaft (or dromos) and the loculus have been preserved. The dromos could not be reconstructed, but the fact that the northern short side of the tomb was sloping, rather than vertical, suggests that it must have located at that side (personal observation July 2013).

301 SB/T025. In MDB/T320 the vessels were placed near the head as well.

302 SB/T018.

303 SB/T019.

304 The only tomb excavated at this burial ground was a chamber tomb (see Belelli Marchesini 2008, note 14).

305 SB/T001, SB/T002, SB/T017, SB/T020 and SB/T034.

306 CG/T001, CG/T002, CG/T003, CG/T004, CG/T005, CG/T006, CG/T007, CG/T008, CG/T010, CG/T011, CG/T012, CG/T015, CG/T016, CG/T017, CG/T018 and CG/T020. Not all tombs on this list have been (completely) excavated; CG/T002, CG/T003, CG/T004, CG/T006, CG/T007 and CG/T008 have not been investigated, but have been identified in the field as chamber tombs, based on the shape of their outline on the surface. Of CG/T010 only the dromos has been excavated (Rajala 2012).

307 MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T039, MDB/T047, MDB/T055, MDB/T060, MDB/T073, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T132, MDB/T175, MDB/T183, MDB/T186, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T204, MDB/T219, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T280, MDB/T287, MDB/T298, MDB/T302, MDB/T317, MDB/T321 and MDB/T327. Not all tombs on this list have been (completely) excavated; MDB/T047, MDB/T055 (only the caditoia has been excavated), MDB/T073, MDB/T175, MDB/T183, MDB/T186, MDB/T204 and MDB/T327 have not been investigated, but have been identified in the field as chamber tombs, based on the shape of their outline on the surface.

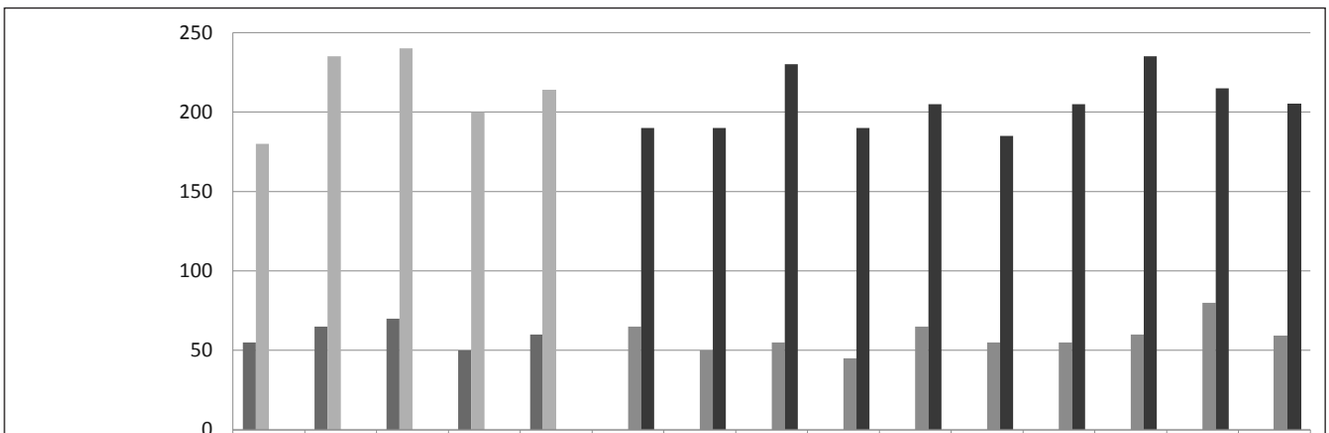
308 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press. There are four clear examples of chamber tombs with a caditoia; SB/T002, MDB/T190, MDB/T219 and MDB/T302.

309 Belelli Marchesini 2008.

310 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 12. See for example MDB/T298 (see the Tomb Catalogue).

311 Personal communication Belelli Marchesini, January 2013. Detailed information regarding the average number of burials inside these early chamber tombs is not available. One example of this tomb type excavated by the GIA contained one burial (MDB/T298). Belelli Marchesini mentions another earlier dating chamber tomb containing two adult male burials (Belelli Marchesini 2008, note 47).

312 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 13. Note that the caditoias of the earliest chamber tombs developed into stepped shafts, then into a short stepped dromos, and only in the IVB/Archaic period they became proper long and sloping dromoi (personal communication Belelli Marchesini May 16, 2012).



	MDB/T 187/01	MDB/T 222/02	MDB/T 229/01*	MDB/T 321/02	Av. male	CG/T005/01*	MDB/T 108/01*	MDB/T 132/01*	MDB/T 187/02*	MDB/T 222/01	MDB/T 222/03*	MDB/T 244/01	MDB/T 321/01	MDB/T 321/03	Av. female
Width male loculi	55	65	70	50	60										
Length male loculi	180	235	240	200	214										
Width female loculi						65	50	55	45	65	55	55	60	80	59
Length female loculi						190	190	230	190	205	185	205	235	215	205

Figure 3.11 Comparison of dimensions (length and width) of loculi in chamber tombs containing male or female depositions.

chamber, now sometimes equipped with a bench for the deceased.[313] The end of the 7th century BC witnessed the introduction of loculi,[314] mostly closed off with a number of tiles.[315] di Gennaro and Belelli Marchesini hypothesise that the chamber tombs dating to the 5th century BC may no longer have been furnished with loculi and that the dead must have been placed on the floor of the chamber instead or on funerary beds made of wood or consisting of tuff blocks, not accompanied by any object.[316]

Since this chapter is especially concerned with the IVB/Archaic period, the following section will zoom in on the architectonic lay-out of the chamber tombs that have been attributed to this time frame.[317] A comparative analysis of their attributes reveals that the variation in the structure and lay-out of the chamber tombs was considerable in this period;[318] not only the shape of the entrance ways and the chambers differed, but so did the number of loculi and the size of the individual elements of the tombs (see table 3.2).

Most chamber tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period were furnished with a dromos.[319] There is one example of an entrance way that seems to represent the intermediate stage between a caditoia and a dromos.[320] Some dromoi were stepped,[321] others were not,[322] but due to the adverse preservation conditions it is often impossible to tell whether steps had

313 Belelli Marchesini 2008. The term normalisation suggests that the dimensions of the earlier chamber tombs were somewhat abnormal. This idea is possibly based on the presumption that the chamber should resemble the dimensions of a 'real' chamber, i.e. as found inside a house.

314 The poor preservation and/or the limited character of the investigation of some of the chamber tombs do not permit an exact reconstruction of their architecture. Tombs of which the architectonic lay-out could not be reconstructed (entirely) are: CG/T002, CG/T003, CG/T004, CG/T006, CG/T007, CG/T008, CG/T010, CG/T011, CG/T012, CG/T015, CG/T017, CG/T018, MDB/T047, MDB/T055, MDB/T073, MDB/T175, MDB/T183, MDB/T186, MDB/T204, MDB/T219, MDB/T280, MDB/T317, MDB/T327 and SB/T001. The following tombs certainly did not have loculi: CG/T001, MDB/T020, MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T190, MDB/T280, MDB/T287 (it does have a bench), MDB/T298 and SB/T002.

315 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17; di Gennaro 2013, 12.

316 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17. A tomb that seems to correspond to these criteria is CG/T001.

317 The tombs that have been incorporated into this comparative study are CG/T001, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T132, MDB/T187, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T287 and MDB/T321. A number of chamber tombs have been left out, because the information on their architectonic lay-out is too scanty (namely CG/T005, CG/T016, SB/T001, MDB/T190 and MDB/T280).

318 See also Belelli Marchesini 2008, 13.

319 Note that the lay-out of the entrance of MDB/T192 is unknown.

320 The entrance way of MDB/T222 is rather long, but very steep at the same time.

321 Chamber tombs furnished with a stepped dromos are: MDB/T016, MDB/T029, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T222, MDB/T244 and MDB/T287.

322 A dromos that was probably not stepped is that of MDB/T187.

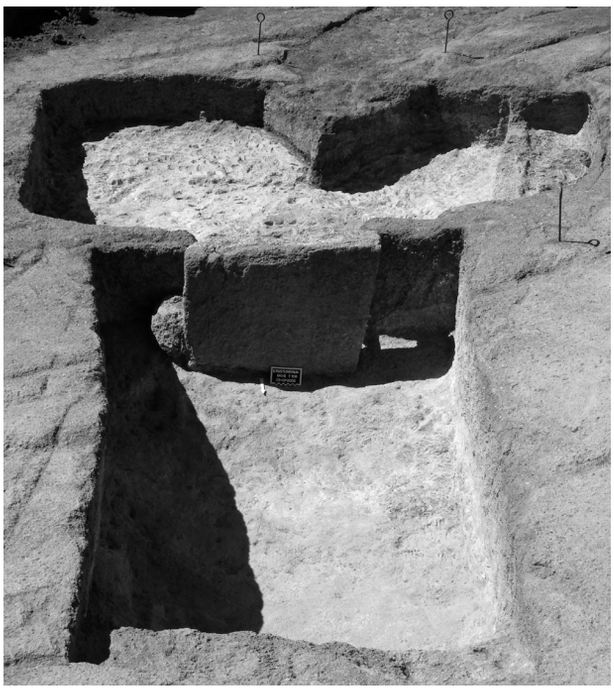


Figure 3.12a Slab closing off the chamber of MDB/T108 (photo GIA).

Figure 3.12b Rubble pile closing off the chamber of MDB/T187 (courtesy of the SSBAR).

originally been present or not.[323] The size of the entrance ways varied considerably; their average length is about 3.70 m, but ranges between 1.70 and 8.00 m.[324] The large variety in the dimensions of the entrances may, however, be (partially) due to the mechanical ploughing that has affected some parts of the burial grounds more than others, resulting in a differential preservation of the (length of the) entrance ways.[325]

The chambers were mostly closed off with one or more large tuff slabs,[326] but in two cases the entrance had been closed with a pile of tuff chunks (see fig. 3.12a and 3.12b). Proceeding into the chamber, one finds that the lay-out of the entrance of the chamber tombs differed as well; some entrances were furnished with *stipites*, whereas others were not. *Stipites* are the door posts that flank the entrance, forming an articulate transition between the dromos and the chamber. The chamber tombs that were furnished with *stipites* have an entrance that is a little narrower than the maximum width of the dromos, allowing the closing slabs to lean against the door posts and to close off the entire entrance. In the tombs that were deprived of *stipites* the closing stones are simply placed at the widest part of the dromos, right in front of the entrance to the chamber. There is no clear relation between the width of the dromos and the presence of stipites;[327] the average maximum width of the dromoi of tombs *with stipites* is almost the same as the average maximum width of dromoi *without* these door posts.[328] The only (slight) difference between the two types lies in the difference between the minimum and the maximum width of the dromoi; the

323 The following tombs may or may not have been furnished with a stepped dromos: CG/T001, CG/T020, MDB/T025, MDB/T032, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T132, MDB/T193, MDB/T229 and MDB/T321.
Steps may not have been recognised during the excavation, because of the fact that the dromos was emptied by means of a mechanic shovel for example. Only in one instance (MDB/T187) were the excavators certain that the long dromos did not have steps. They suggest that the tomb was entered by means of a wooden ladder (Barbina 2007, *Giornale di scavo*).

324 Note that the length of the entrance of MDB/T109 and MDB/T110 is unknown.

325 See the section *Erosion* in Chapter 2 for a description of the biasing effects of erosion on the burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium.

326 Note that smaller tuff chunks were added to some of these slab closing systems probably in order to fill up remaining gaps. This practice has been attested in MDB/T032 and MDB/T244 for example.

327 The calculations are based on eight tombs without stipites (MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T187, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T222, MDB/T287 and MDB/T321), and seven tombs with stipites (MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T132, MDB/T229 and MDB/T244). CG/T001, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T109 and MDB/T110 have not been taken into account, since information regarding their dimensions is incomplete.

328 The average maximum width of both types is about 1.30 m.

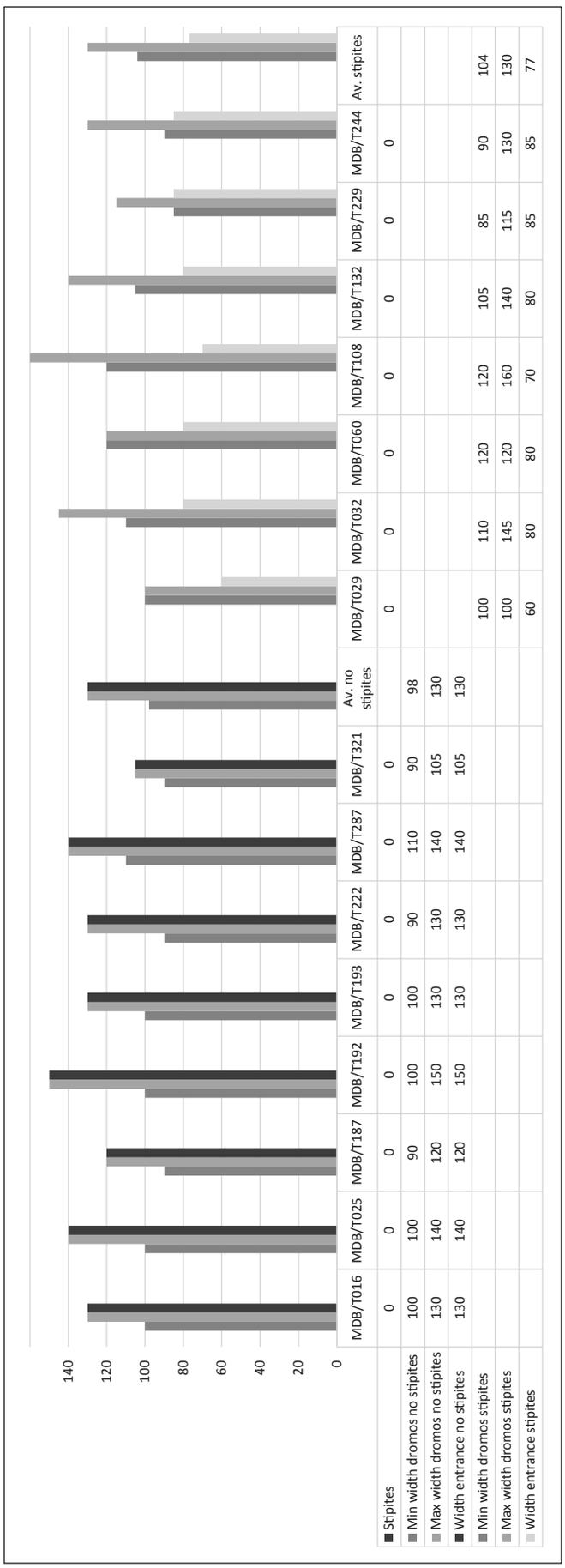


Figure 3.13 Comparison of dimensions (minimum/maximum width dromos and width entrance) of dromoi of chamber tombs with and without stipites.

dromoi without *stipites* were slightly more tapering than the ones with *stipites* (see fig. 3.13).[329]

The chambers themselves were shaped in various different ways;[330] they were either (irregularly) ellipsoid, rectangular or trapezoidal (see fig. 3.14). As dimensions are concerned, the overall variation in the size of the chambers is considerable;[331] the average (maximum) length of the chambers was about 2.65 m, but varied between 1.85 and 4.35 m; the average (maximum) width was about 2.75 m, but ranged from 1.70 to 3.90 m (see table 3.1). The height of the ceiling of the chambers varied as well; the average height is about 1.10 m, but it ranged between 0.95 and 1.70 m (see table 3.1).[332]

The architectonic lay-out of the chambers further differs in terms of the number of added elements, i.e. the loculi. Whilst some chamber tombs were not furnished with a loculus, most tombs were equipped with one or more sepulchral niches (see table 3.1). The loculi are mostly situated in the (walls) of the chamber, but the location of the loculus with respect to the architecture of the chamber is rather variable (see table 3.2). However, in most tombs at least one loculus is located in the wall to the right of the entrance.

There are only a few examples of sepulchral niches cut out in the dromoi of the tombs (see fig. 3.16).[333] The reason for the creation of a loculus in the entrance way is not clear and it is not easy to define the time lapse between the construction of the chamber (and the loculi inside it) and the additional loculus. However, the fact that additional loculi could just as well have been created inside the chambers

329 The average difference between the minimum and the maximum width is about 35 cm for the tombs without stipites and about 25 cm for the tombs that were equipped with door posts.

330 The shape of the chamber of MDB/T110 is unknown.

331 The measurements cited in this section refer to the dimensions of the chamber itself, not including added features such as loculi or benches. Note that the dimensions of MDB/T110 are unknown.

332 The height of the ceiling is often hard to determine, since the roof of the chamber has in most cases (partially) collapsed. In some cases it proved possible, however, to establish a minimum or maximum height (see also the Tomb Catalogue). The average height mentioned above is based on the chambers of which the ceiling could be reconstructed with some certainty (namely CG/T020, MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T032, MDB/T109, MDB/T187, MDB/T229, MDB/T287 and MDB/T321).

333 The caditoia of MDB/T190 was furnished with two loculi, a lateral one and one in the wall above the entrance to the chamber. Since information about the lay-out of the chamber itself is not available, the tomb has not been incorporated in the analyses presented in this section.

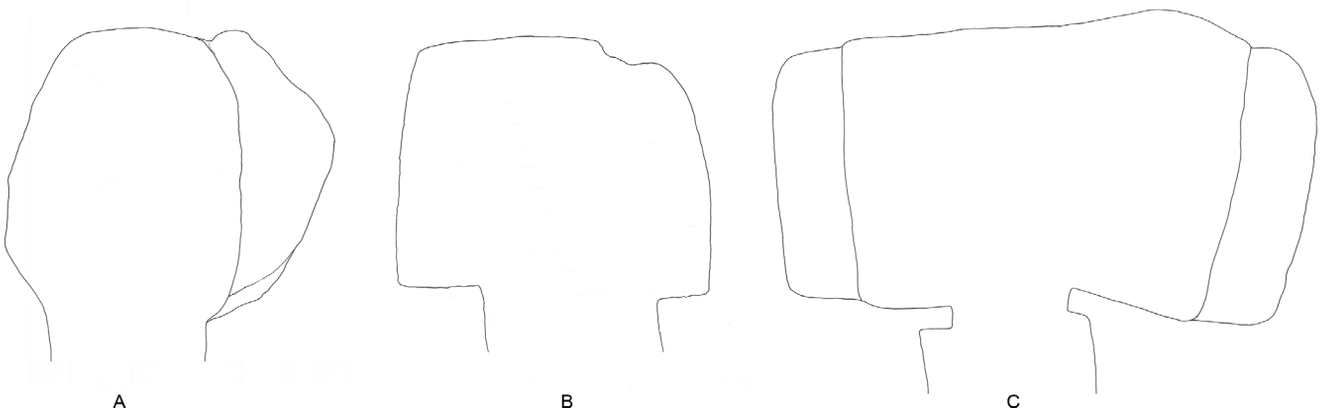


Figure 3.14 Overview of chamber shapes (A = ellipsoid, B = rectangular, C = trapezoidal) (illustration author).

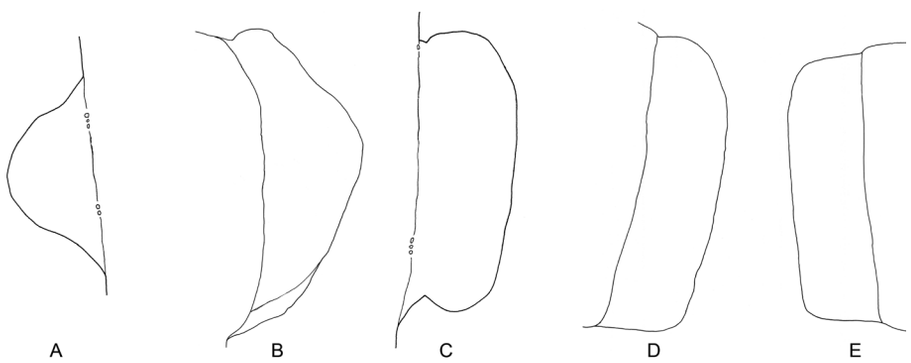


Figure 3.15 Overview of loculus shapes (A = semi-circular, B = kidney-shaped, C = elongated with articulate rounded short sides, D = elongated with oblique or rounded short sides, E = elongated with straight short sides) (illustration author).

themselves,[334] and the fact that the positioning of these loculi at the end of the entrance shaft is very similar to the lay-out of the Monte Michele types, suggest that the loculi represent partial reopenings of the dromoi after the use period of the chambers.[335] The reuse of existing (elements of) tombs is a practice that has been attested in loculus tombs as well.[336]

Just as the chambers, the loculi were closed off in different ways; most sepulchral niches were closed off with tiles, others were presumably left open. There is only one known example of a loculus that had been closed off with mudbricks.[337] Closing systems consisting of tuff blocks or chunks hardly ever occur in the chamber tombs (see table 3.2).

The shape of the loculi varied as well,[338] they were either semi-circular, kidney-shaped, elongated with articulate, rounded short sides, elongated with oblique or rounded short sides,[339] or elongated with straight short sides (see table 3.2 and fig. 3.15). The average length of the loculi was about 2.00 m, but varied between 1.40 and 2.90 m. The average width of the loculi was about 0.60 m, but ranged between 0.40 and 0.80 m (see table 3.2).[340] Just as in the IVB/Archaic tombs, the loculi in the chamber tombs were barely large enough to hold the body of the deceased.

334 The chamber of MDB/T190 was not furnished with loculi and the chamber of MDB/T187 had only one loculus. However, the chamber of MDB/T321 was equipped with three sepulchral niches (one in each wall), indicating that the additional loculus in its dromos may have been created because of the lack of available space in the chamber itself.

335 The occurrence of two or three depositions inside the dromos of CG/T017 at about 1.00 m above the floor level of the entrance shaft proves that the dromoi were indeed occasionally being reopened for additional burials (see the Tomb Catalogue).

336 See the section *3.5.1 Multi-deposition*.

337 The practice has been attested in CG/T018 (Rajala 2012, 72, fig. 6; Ralaja in press, 78).

338 The shape of the loculus inside MDB/T110 could not be determined.

339 The bench inside the chamber of MDB/T287 has oblique short sides as well.

340 The measurements of the loculi of the following tombs have been taken into account: CG/T005, CG/T016, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T132, MDB/T187, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244 and MDB/T321. Note that only the left loculus of MDB/T032 measured as little as 1.40 m. The loculus did not contain a deposition at the time of excavation and it is not certain whether it was at all intended to hold one. Its odd size may indicate that it should be regarded as a niche, rather than as a loculus.

The loculus in the dromos of T321 (nr. 04*) has not been entirely preserved. Therefore, only the width of the loculus has been taken into account.

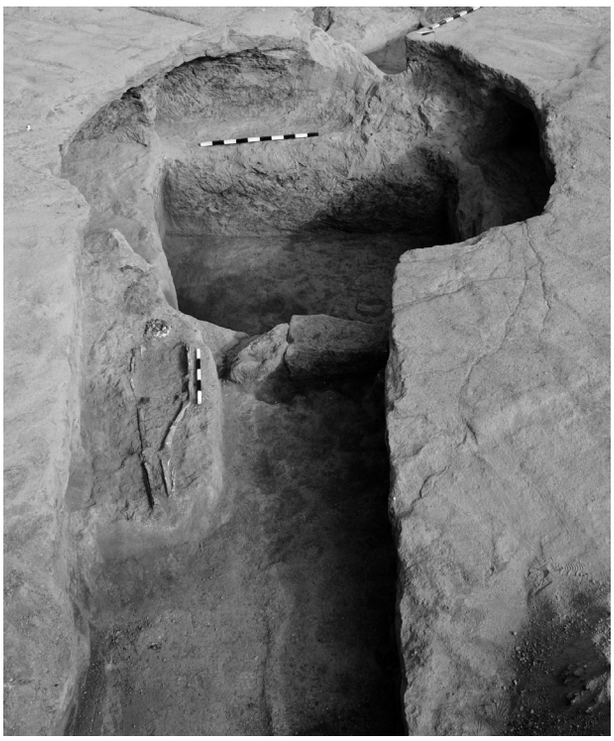


Figure 3.16 Overview of chamber tomb MDB/T321 showing the loculus in the dromos (courtesy of the SSBAR).

However, there does not seem to have been a significant difference between the loculi housing male or female depositions (see fig. 3.11).[341]

This overview has shown that the architectonic lay-out and the dimensions of the chamber tombs varied considerably. It proved difficult to draw up a typology for the chamber tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period, because there is a limited number of accurately datable chamber tombs and because the noted varieties in the grave constructions do not seem to be bound to a specific type of chamber tomb. The number of loculi for example, is apparently not dependent upon the architectonic lay-out of the chamber or the shape of the entrance.

However, the most important difference between the tombs (and therefore possibly a good starting point for a typological ordering) seems to be the shape of the chamber, which could be either (irregular) ellipsoid, square, rectangular or trapezoidal. The idea that the shape of the chamber is meaningful is suggested by an inventory of the average number of grave gifts encountered in the chamber tombs; the number of gifts was somewhat higher in the tombs with a rectangular chamber,[342] whereas the trapezoidal chambers yielded hardly any objects (see fig. 3.17).[343]

3.3 Placement in the burial ground

The following section deals with a number of spatial characteristics of the IVB/Archaic tombs, as encountered at the burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium. It describes the placement of the late tombs in relation to the existing distribution of tombs by looking at spatial lay-out, intersection and overlap, orientation and tomb depth, zooming in on the situation at Sasso Bianco, Cisterna Grande and Monte Del Bufalo (see fig. 3.18a-b)). The latter has been divided in two (the northern part, called the 'Fossato' Area,[344] and the Southern Area[345]), in order to be able to take the local differences of this vast burial ground into account.

3.3.1 Sasso Bianco

Information regarding the spatial distribution of the tombs at Sasso Bianco is unfortunately limited.[346] However, a published map of the funerary area reveals that many tombs intersect and overlap each other at this burial ground,[347] and that the later tombs have not been grouped in one specific area. Since the Sasso Bianco burial ground is located on a clearly defined hill, the space available for burial must have been limited, resulting in a very dense distribution (see fig. 1.3).

3.3.2 Monte Del Bufalo – Fossato Area

The Fossato Area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground was fully exploited from the middle of the 7th

341 Since none of the loculi of which the dimensions are known contained a child burial only, an eventual relation between the age of the deceased and the measurements of the sepulchral niche could not be investigated. Note that one of the 'male' loculi presented in the graph housed two male burials and one child (MDB/T321/02) and that one of the 'female' loculi contained an adult female and a child (CG/T005/01*).

342 The average number of gifts in the rectangular chamber tombs is about 8, coming down to 2.5 gifts per deposition.

343 The average number of gifts in the trapezoidal chamber tombs is about 2, coming down to 0.5 gift per deposition.

344 The Fossato Area is the most northern investigated part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, located just southeast of the trench (i.e. fossato) that circumscribed this part of the settlement. During a number of consecutive campaigns, a total of ca. 3690 m^2 has been investigated, in which about 115 tombs have been identified (see fig. 1.8).

345 The southern part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground investigated here consists of the area south of the tombs MDB/T017, MDB/T018, MDB/T019 and MDB/T020 (see fig. 1.7). During a number of consecutive campaigns, a total of about 5580 m^2 has been investigated, in which about 160 tombs have been identified.

346 Regarding the Sasso Bianco burial ground, di Gennaro notes that the tombs 'risultano disposte molto fittamente' and that the area had probably been in use over a long period of time (di Gennaro 1990a, 69).

347 See di Gennaro 1990d, fig. 9. Monte Michele tomb SB/T022 was cut out in the wall of the dromos of the chamber tomb SB/T001. The Monte Michele tombs SB/T018 and SB/T019 were cut by the dromos of chamber tomb SB/T020.

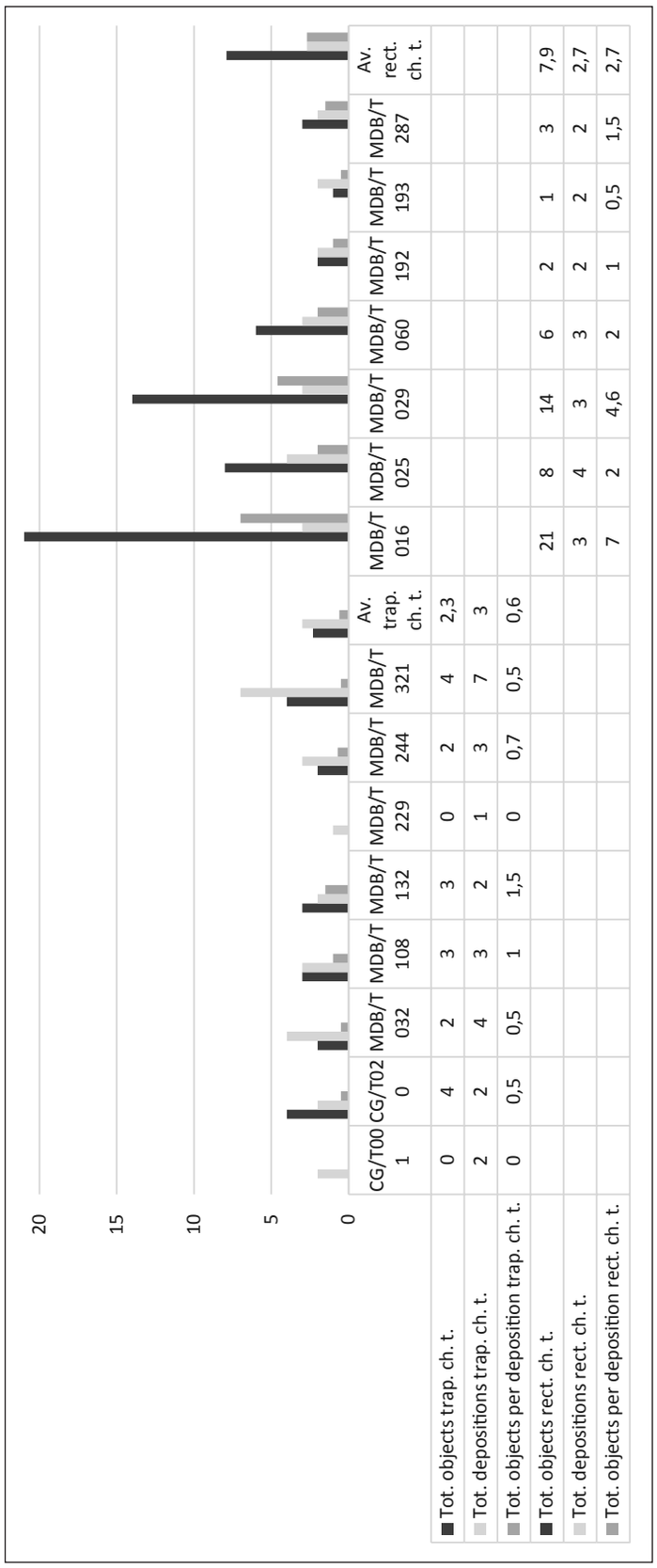


Figure 3.17 Number of objects per chamber tomb type (trapezoidal or rectangular) and deposition.

century BC onwards.[348] A study of the distribution of different tomb types over the area has revealed that the earlier fossa dating tombs were evenly dispersed over the burial ground, at wide intervals, whilst the later dating loculus tombs illustrate the successive development of the area into two larger clusters.[349]

In this area the late tombs are neatly nested within the existing distribution of tombs. Although some of the late tombs are situated quite close to one another,[350] they do not seem to have been concentrated on one part of the burial ground, but were rather dispersed over the entire area. Intersection and overlap of older tombs by chamber tombs, fossa and loculus tombs of the IVB/Archaic period occurs very frequently (see fig 3.19),[351] but has not been observed in all the later tombs.[352]

348 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26.

349 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 26.

350 For example MDB/T282 and MDB/T290, MDB/T254 and MDB/T257, MDB/T287 and MDB/T288 and MDB/T320 and MDB/T321.

351 The chamber of MDB/T108 was so close to the head niche of MDB/T250 that the dividing wall must have collapsed at some point after the creation of the chamber, causing most of the banqueting set of MDB/T250 to slide down into the chamber. The dromos of MDB/T280 partially cut the older tombs MDB/T275 and MDB/T277. The dromos of MDB/T287 was dug out in the tuff bedrock, right above the head niche of MDB/T286 on the W side and the loculus of MDB/T288 on the E side. The chamber of MDB/T287 cut the northern end of the caditoia of MDB/T288. In addition, the chamber was situated underneath the fossa tomb MDB/T293. The dromos of MDB/T298 partially cut the fossa of MDB/T297. The chamber of MDB/T317 partially cut the fossa tomb MDB/T313. MDB/T321 partially cut the caditoia of MDB/T320. The gap between the two tombs was closed off with a Fidenae tuff block.

Loculus tomb MDB/T254 was situated very near the older fossa tomb MDB/T256, leaving only a very small ridge of bedrock in between the two tombs. Loculus tomb MDB/T257 was partially cut out in the upper level of the older fossa tomb MDB/T285. In addition, the head end of the loculus of MDB/T257 cut into part of the fossa tomb MDB/T256. The loculus of tomb MDB/T288 was situated very close to the head niche of MDB/T286, but it is very hard to tell which tomb dates earlier. The shaft of MDB/T290 partially cuts the upper level of the older fossa tomb MDB/T289.

352 Tombs without a direct physical relation to the surrounding tombs at the Fossato Area are fossa tombs MDB/T274 (although it borders on the fossa tomb MDB/T276) and MDB/T313 (this tomb has been partially cut by MDB/T317, not the other way around) and loculus tomb MDB/T282. MDB/T109 and MDB/T110 are two chamber tombs without a direct physical relation to the surrounding tombs, situated in between the northern and the southern part of the funerary area (note that MDB/T109 and MDB/T110 are very close to one another, but not necessarily to older tombs in the vicinity).

Figure 3.18a Map of the Fossato Area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground highlighting the location of the IVB/ Archaic tombs (map author).

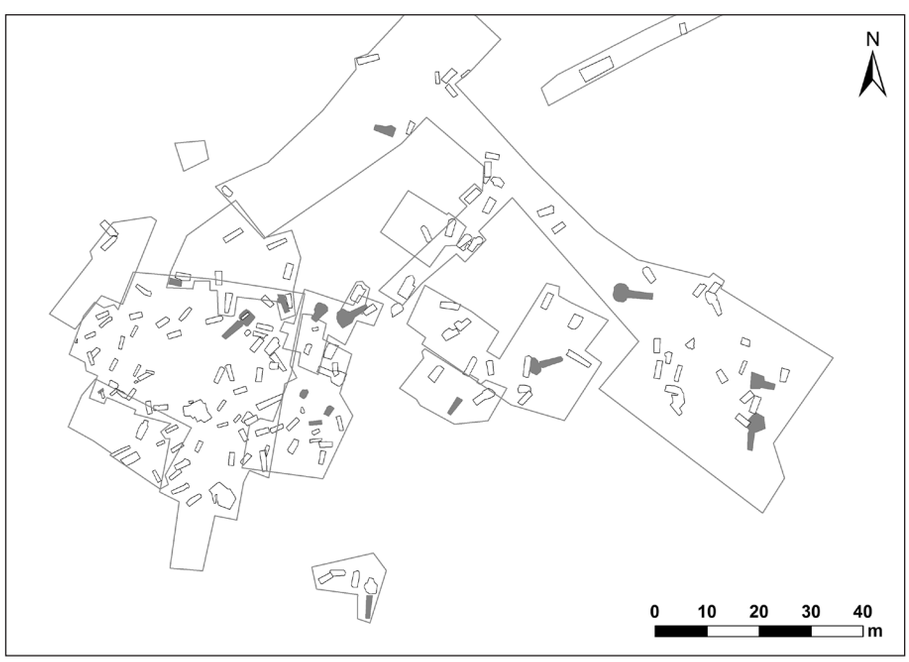


Figure 3.18b Map of the Southern Area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground highlighting the location of the IVB/ Archaic tombs (map author).

Figure 3.19 Cluster of five tombs in the Fossato Area (photo GIA).

The orientation of the tombs[353] at this part of the burial ground was rather uniform during Latial period IVA, with most burials directed more or less to the NE and NNE (but varying between WNW and ESE). The tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period are mostly directed towards the NW (but their orientation ranges from S/SW to E) (see fig. 3.20 and table 3.3).

An inventory of the variation in orientation per architectonic tomb type (regardless of the exact chronological attribution of the tombs) reveals that the chamber tombs were oriented in various directions,[354] whilst the orientation of the loculus tombs mainly ranged between E and NW.

Another feature of the tombs that can be useful in the study of the intentionality of the spatial distribution of the later tombs is their depth. An overall look at the tombs of the Fossato Area[355] reveals that tombs which are located close to one another generally have a very comparable tomb depth,[356] regardless of their chronological pertinence or architectonic lay-out (see fig. 3.21).[357] It seems as though the tombs that were created last take the depth of the earlier tombs in their close vicinity into account. The observed similarity in the tomb depths of closely spaced tombs could have resulted from practical considerations, such as the availability of suitable (soft) tuff layers in the bedrock to dig chambers and loculi into. However, the fact that the depths could vary considerably between tombs that were located on a relatively short distance from one another, raises questions about the articulation of the geological articulation of the volcanic tuff soils. The differential depth of small groups of tombs is therefore possibly explained best as symptomatic of the original articulation of the landscape, which may have been affected by quarrying activities.[358]

3.3.3 Monte Del Bufalo – Southern Area

At the southern part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, the younger tombs are dispersed over the entire area as well, nested within the existing distribution pattern. Although a number of late tombs may have been grouped together,[359] they do not seem to have been confined to one single area of this part of the burial ground. Intersection and overlap of older tombs by chamber and fossa tombs of the IVB/

353 Of the 95 tombs identified at this part of the burial ground, 66 have been dated; 29 tombs have been attributed to Latial period IV (without a more detailed specification), 22 date to Latial period IVA, 3 have been attributed to Latial period IVB and 12 have been assigned to the Latial period IVB/Archaic period. In the present analysis only the tombs attributed to Latial period IVA, IVB and IVB/Archaic have been taken into account, since the Latial period IV tombs could either pertain to phase A or B, making them unsuitable for the present study.

354 One chamber tomb is directed to the NW (MDB/T321), one to the WNW (MDB/T280), one to the NNW (MDB/T287), one to the N (MDB/T298), one to the E (MDB/T302), one to the ESE (MDB/T317) and one to the S (MDB/T108).

355 See for the justification of the use of this area for the study of the tomb depths the section *3.2.1 Alterations in traditional tomb architecture*.

356 Examples of closely spaced tombs with comparable depths are MDB/T293, MDB/T294, MDB/T295, MDB/T296 and MDB/T299 (depth between 0.10 and 0.30 m); MDB/T274 and MDB/T276 (depth between 0.10 and 0.30 m); MDB/T256 and MDB/T257 (depth between 0.10 and 0.30 m); MDB/T108, MDB/T252, MDB/T254, MDB/T259, MDB/T281 and MDB/T326 (depth between 0.45 and 0.70 m); MDB/T275, MDB/T277 and MDB/T280 (depth between 0.80 and 1.15m); MDB/T286, MDB/T287 and MDB/T288 (depth between 0.80 and 1.15m); MDB/T297 and MDB/T298 (depth between 0.80 and 1.15m); MDB/T320 and MDB/T321 (depth between 0.80 and 1.15m); MDB/T258 and MDB/T284 (depth between 1.30 and 1.65 m).

357 The most notable exceptions to this rule are MDB/T253 and MDB/T283; MDB/T253 has a depth of only 0.20 m, whereas MDB/T283 is about 3.50 m deep.

358 As suggested by Belelli Marchesini (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 27).

359 MDB/T206, MDB/T207 and MDB/T211 are situated very close to one another.

Table 3.3 Table of orientations of the tombs in the Fossato Area.

Orientation	IVA tombs	IVB/Archaic tombs
N	MDB/T271 MDB/T275	MDB/T319 MDB/T320
NNE	MDB/T258 MDB/T263 MDB/T267 MDB/T272 MDB/T283 MDB/T293 MDB/T304	
NE	MDB/T252 MDB/T259 MDB/T266 MDB/T292 MDB/T307 MDB/T314	MDB/T265
ENE		
E	MDB/T284	MDB/T279
ESE	MDB/T306	
SE		
SSE		
S		MDB/T108
SSW		
SW		MDB/T274
WSW		
W		
WNW		MDB/T280 MDB/T290
NW	MDB/T277 MDB/T285	MDB/T254 MDB/T257 MDB/T282 MDB/T288 MDB/T321
NNW	MDB/T291	MDB/T287 MDB/T324

Archaic period occurs very frequently,[360] but has not been observed in all the later tombs.[361] In addition, the phenomenon has not been as frequently attested as in the Fossato Area.

Whereas the orientation of the tombs[362] at this part of the burial ground was rather uniform during Latial period IIB2, III, III/IVA and IVA, mostly gravitating around the NE, the orientation of the tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period was much more varied, but most tombs were still directed to-

360 The chamber of MDB/T029 cut the loculus of MDB/T028. The gap between the two tombs was closed off with a large tuff slab. The chamber of MDB/T047 presumably cut part of MDB/T045, but since this tomb has not been investigated we do not dispose of more detailed information. The chamber of MDB/T132 was situated underneath the older fossa tomb MDB/T148, resulting in the collapse of the fossa tomb into the chamber of MDB/T132. The chamber of MDB/T175 must have been situated underneath the older fossa tomb MDB/T176 and the dromos must have cut part of the loculus of MDB/T174. Since MDB/T175 has not been excavated, we have no detailed information regarding the exact physical relation between these tombs. The chamber of MDB/T183 was situated right next to the loculus of MDB/T235, causing the intermediate wall to collapse. The chamber of MDB/T186 must have been located underneath the fossa tombs MDB/T163 and MDB/T164, but detailed information is not available since the chamber has not been investigated. The dromos of MDB/T187 partially cut the caditoia of MDB/T181. The loculi inside the caditoia of MDB/T190 interfered with the caditoia of MDB/T233. The gap between the two tombs was filled up with tuff blocks of different types. The dromos of MDB/T193 seems to have touched another tomb. Unfortunately, we have no further information on the exact physical relation between these two tombs. The dromos of MDB/T204 must have cut an older fossa tomb. Unfortunately MDB/T204 has not been investigated, so we have no further information. Judging from the overall map of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, it seems as though chamber tomb MDB/T219 was situated very close to MDB/T215, but more detailed information on these two tombs is not available. The chamber of MDB/T229 was situated underneath the fossa tombs MDB/T226, MDB/T227 and MDB/T228, causing the three tombs to collapse into the chamber. The chamber of MDB/T244 partially cut the fossa tomb MDB/T243.

Fossa tomb MDB/T168 cut part of the older fossa tomb MDB/T165.

361 Tombs without a direct physical relation to the surrounding tombs at the southern part of Monte Del Bufalo are the chamber tombs MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T032, MDB/T055, MDB/T060, MDB/T073, and MDB/T192, and loculus tombs MDB/T206, MDB/T207 and MDB/T211.

362 Of the 160 tombs identified at this part of the burial ground, 113 have been dated; 16 tombs date to Latial period IIB2/III, two tombs have been attributed to Latial period III, 28 tombs date to Latial period III/IVA, 32 tombs to Latial period IV (without further specification), 16 tombs have been date to Latial period IVA, one tomb dates to Latial period IVB and 18 tombs pertain to the IVB/Archaic period. The tombs attributed to Latial period IV have not been taken into account in the present analysis (see also note 353 above).

The orientation and date of part of the tombs under study here, is based on a published map of part of the Southern Area of Monte Del Bufalo, namely the so-called Marcigliana (di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 14, fig. 3).

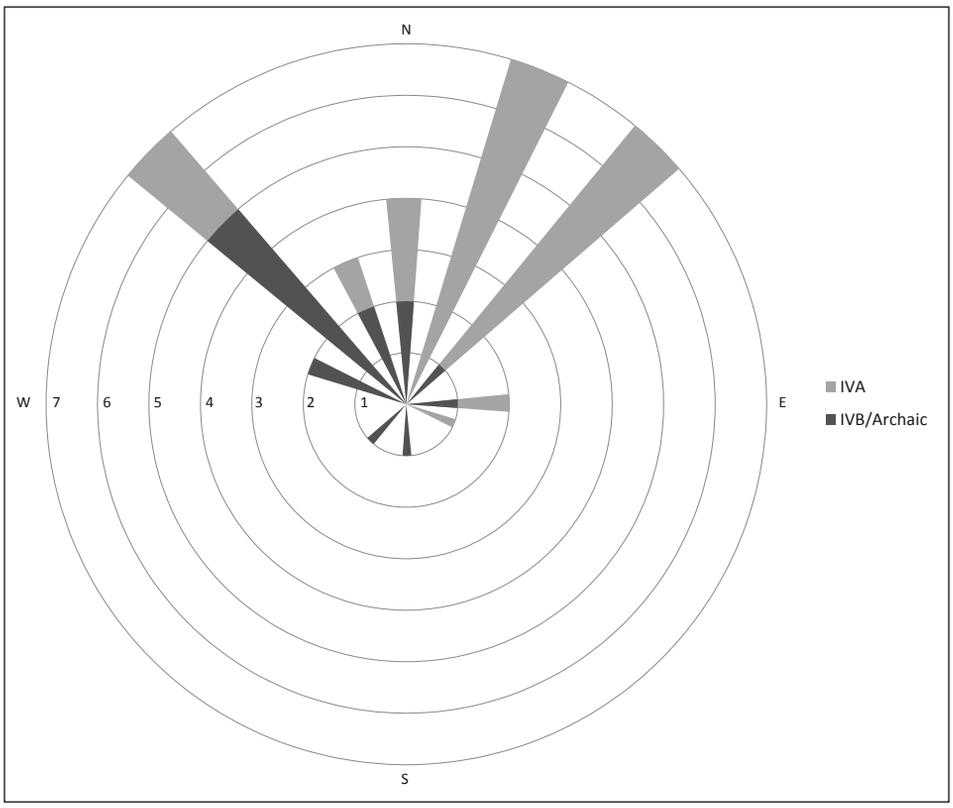


Figure 3.20 Overview of tomb orientations in the Fossato Area, specifying IVA and IVB/Archaic tombs.

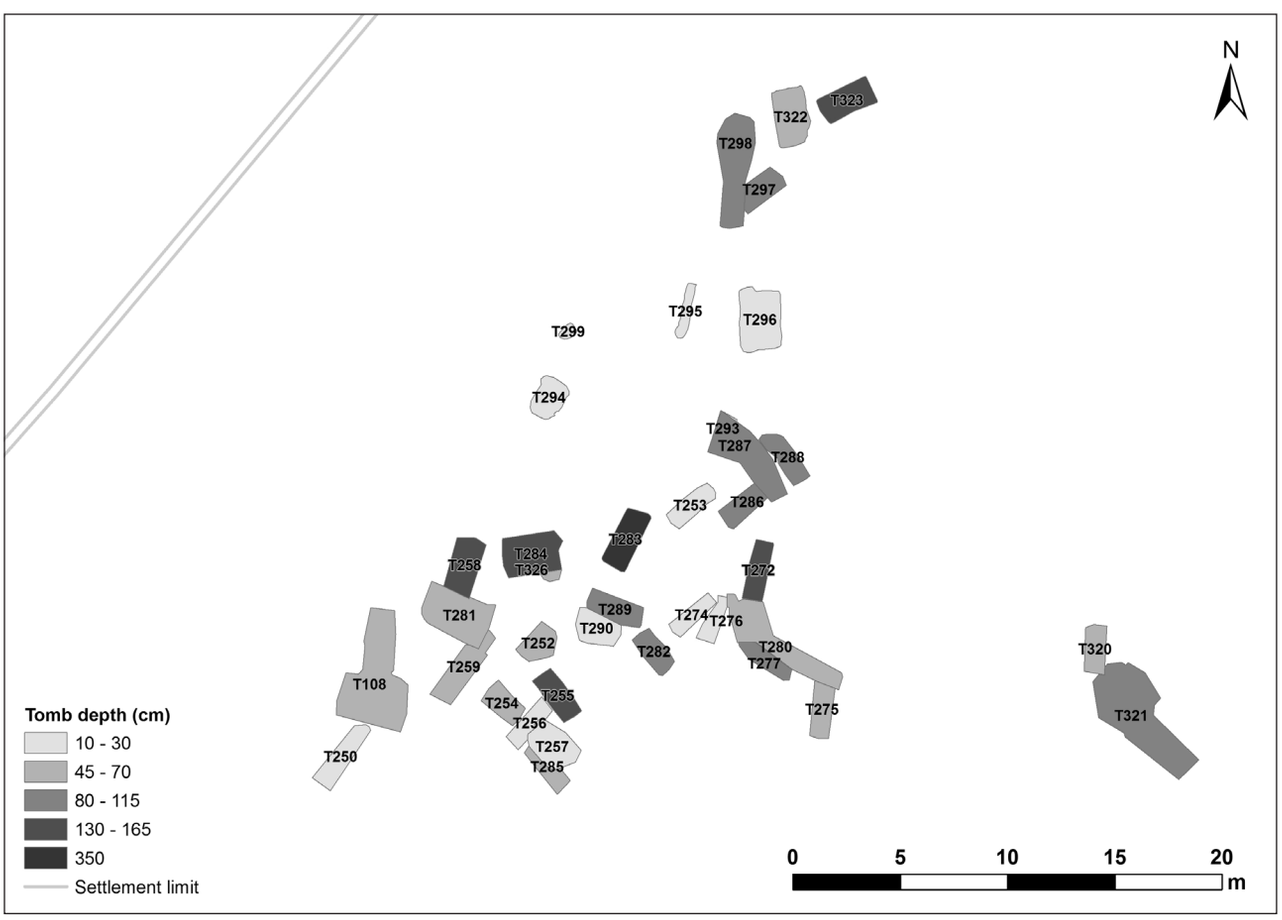


Figure 3.21 Map of part of the Fossato Area showing the depth of each tomb (map author).

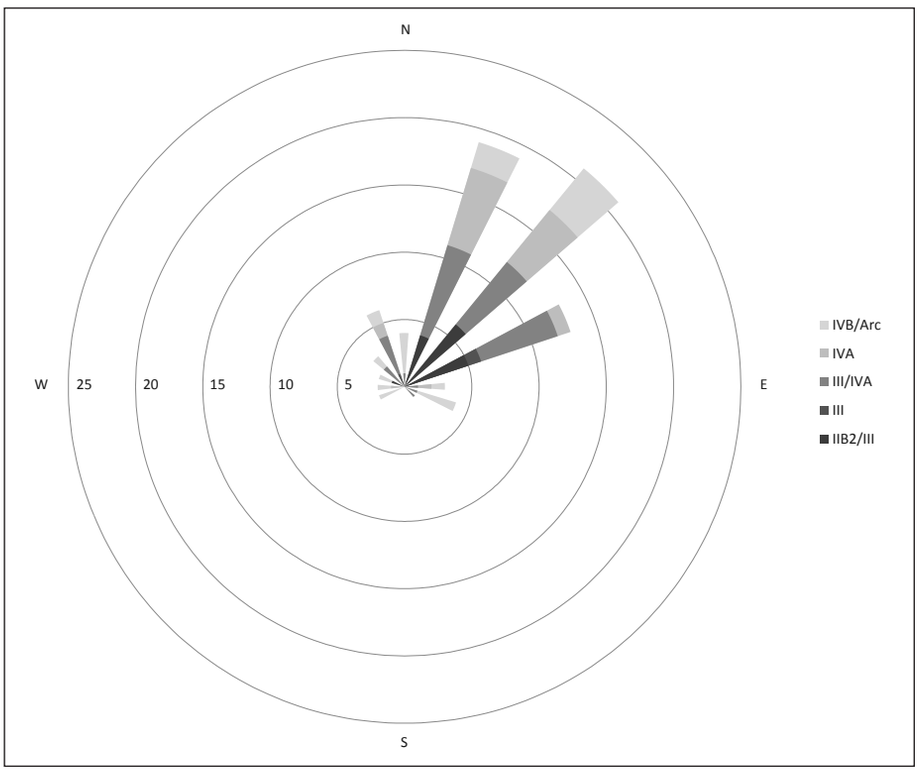


Figure 3.22 Overview of the tomb orientations in the Monte Del Bufalo - Southern Area specifying IIB2, III, III/IVA, IVA and IVB/Archaic tombs.

wards the NNE and NE (see fig. 3.22 and table 3.4). The chamber tombs created during this phase are the ones that deviate most frequently from this 'standard'; their orientation ranged from WSW to ENE.[363]

3.3.4 Cisterna Grande

The placement of the tombs at the Cisterna Grande burial ground is somewhat different than that of the tombs Monte Del Bufalo. At Cisterna Grande, almost all tombs pertain to the IVB/Archaic period.[364] The architectonic variation within the sample of late tombs is very limited; it consists solely of chamber tombs.[365] However, the variation in orientation of these chamber tombs is considerable, ranging from the WNW to the SSE (see fig. 3.23 and table 3.5). Since earlier dating tombs are hardly present, it is not surprising that none of the chambers interfere with pre-existing tomb architecture.

3.4 The grave goods

One of the most apparent changes in the funerary ritual in the IVB/Archaic period is the reduction of gift giving starting from the end of the 7th century BC onwards, finally culminating in a complete cease of this practice around the middle or end of the 6th century BC. In order to grasp the developments that occurred at Crustumerium, the following section describes how the assemblage of the banqueting sets and in the set of personal objects changed from Latial period IVA to the IVB/Archaic period.[366] Within the category of the personal objects, the personal *functional* and personal *ornamental* objects have been studied separately.[367] In order to elucidate how the contents of the late tombs differ

363 Two chamber tombs were directed to the WSW (MDB/T193, MDB/T244), 1 to the W (MDB/T032), 1 to the WNW (MDB/T025), 1 to the NW (MDB/T175), 1 to the NNW (MDB/T187), 3 to the N (MDB/T029, MDB/T204, MDB/T229), 3 to the NE (MDB/T132, MDB/T192, MDB/T222), 3 to the ESE (MDB/T016, MDB/T190, MDB/T219).

364 To date, at least two Orientalising tombs have been identified at Cisterna Grande; CG/T014 and CG/T021. CG/T014 is a proper loculus tomb and dates to the late Orientalising period (Fulminante 2008, 4). CG/T021 is a shallow tomb with a small niche on the right side, containing the banqueting set. The tomb would date to the second half of the 7th century BC (personal communication Belelli Marchesini, January 2013). More tombs dating to this earlier period have been identified on the slope towards the Fosso della Formicola (see also Chapter 1, note 73).

365 See however Rajala 2008, 2010 and 2012 on the different types of chamber tombs identified at this burial ground.

366 See the section *The grave goods* in Chapter 3 for an explanation on the difference between the two categories. In the present analysis the attingitoio (a botticella) is regarded as forming part of the banqueting set. Since they have often been found in the vicinity of the buried individual, they can also be considered as forming part of the set of personal objects pertaining to the deceased. However, since all the attingitoios that occurred in the tombs used for the present analyses were found among the banqueting vessels and never in close connection to the deceased, it has been decided to regard them as forming part of the banqueting set, rather than as part of the personal assemblage.

367 See the section *Personal items* in Chapter 3 for an explanation on the difference between the two subcategories.

Table 3.4 Table of orientations of the tombs in the Monte Del Bufalo - Southern Area.

Orientation	IIB2/III tombs	III tombs	III/IVA tombs	IVA tombs	IVB/Archaic tombs
N			MDB/T215		MDB/T029 MDB/T204 MDB/T229
NNE	MDB/T142 MDB/T147 MDB/T149 MDB/T155		MDB/T021 MDB/T026 MDB/T128 MDB/T171 MDB/T202 MDB/T220 MDB/T236	MDB/T051 MDB/T071 MDB/T076 MDB/T197 MDB/T232 MDB/T246	MDB/T206 MDB/T211
NE	MDB/T129 MDB/T139 MDB/T141 MDB/T153 MDB/T156 MDB/T160		MDB/T027 MDB/T148 MDB/T151 MDB/T159 MDB/T164 MDB/T189	MDB/T130 MDB/T196 MDB/T217 MDB/T221 MDB/T249	MDB/T132 MDB/T168 MDB/T192 MDB/T222
ENE	MDB/T136 MDB/T154 MDB/T170 MDB/T188 MDB/T200	MDB/T198	MDB/T135 MDB/T143 MDB/T157 MDB/T158 MDB/T234 MDB/T237	MDB/T152	
E			MDB/T212	MDB/T248	MDB/T207
ESE			MDB/T131		MDB/T016 MDB/T190 MDB/T219
SE			MDB/T191		
SSE					
S					
SSW					
SW					
WSW					MDB/T193 MDB/T244
W				MDB/T150	MDB/T032
WNW	MDB/T144				MDB/T025
NW			MDB/T035 MDB/T182		MDB/T175
NNW		MDB/T201	MDB/T127 MDB/T209 MDB/T213	MDB/T223	MDB/T187

from the contents of the earlier tombs, each of the following sections starts with a description of the characteristics of the latter,[368] followed by an analysis of the features of the late tombs.

368 The sample of early tombs consists of a selection of the tombs excavated by the GIA, complemented by a number of published graves investigated by the SSBAR (see note 369). Note that since most of the excavation campaigns have focused on the Monte Del Bufalo, almost all tombs in the sample stem from this burial ground.

3.4.1 The banquet: a problematic definition

Chapter 2 has dealt with the problems adhered to the terms 'banqueting set' and 'banqueting vessel'. The following section will show that during the IVB/Archaic period the composition of the sets altered in such a way, that they are hardly representative of a banqueting service anymore. However, in order to be able to perform a comparative study of the sets throughout the various periods the terms 'banqueting set' and 'banqueting vessel' have been maintained in the analyses presented below. Indeed, the term 'banqueting vessel' is also useful for differentiating

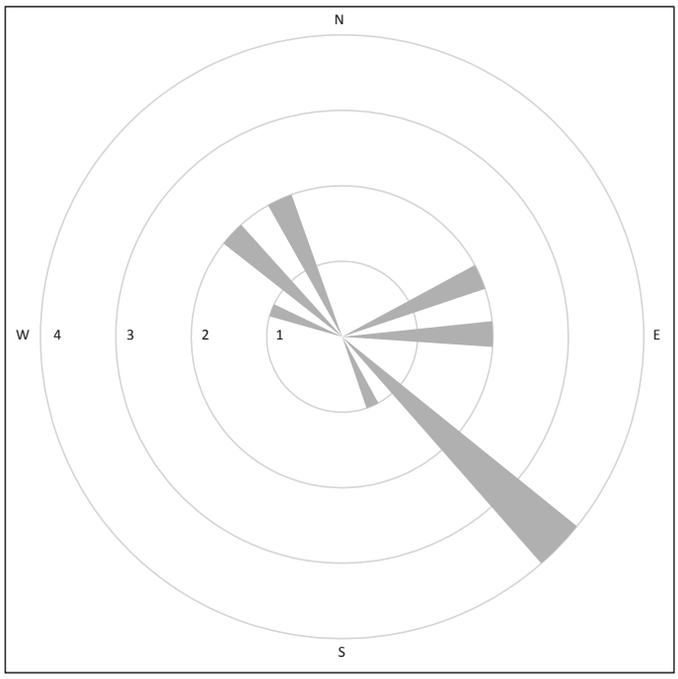


Figure 3.23 Inventory of the orientation of the chamber tombs at Cisterna Grande.

Table 3.5 Table of orientations of the chamber tombs at Cisterna Grande.

Orientation	Tombs
N	
NNE	
NE	
ENE	CG/T003 CG/T018
E	CG/T010 CG/T017
ESE	
SE	CG/T005 CG/T007 CG/T008 CG/T012
SSE	CG/T011
S	
SSW	
SW	
WSW	
W	
WNW	CG/T016
NW	CG/T001 CG/T002
NNW	CG/T015 CG/T020

between vessels used for drinking/eating/etc. and vessels that formed part of the personal assemblage of the deceased, the *unguentaria* for example.

Banqueting sets in the IVA tombs

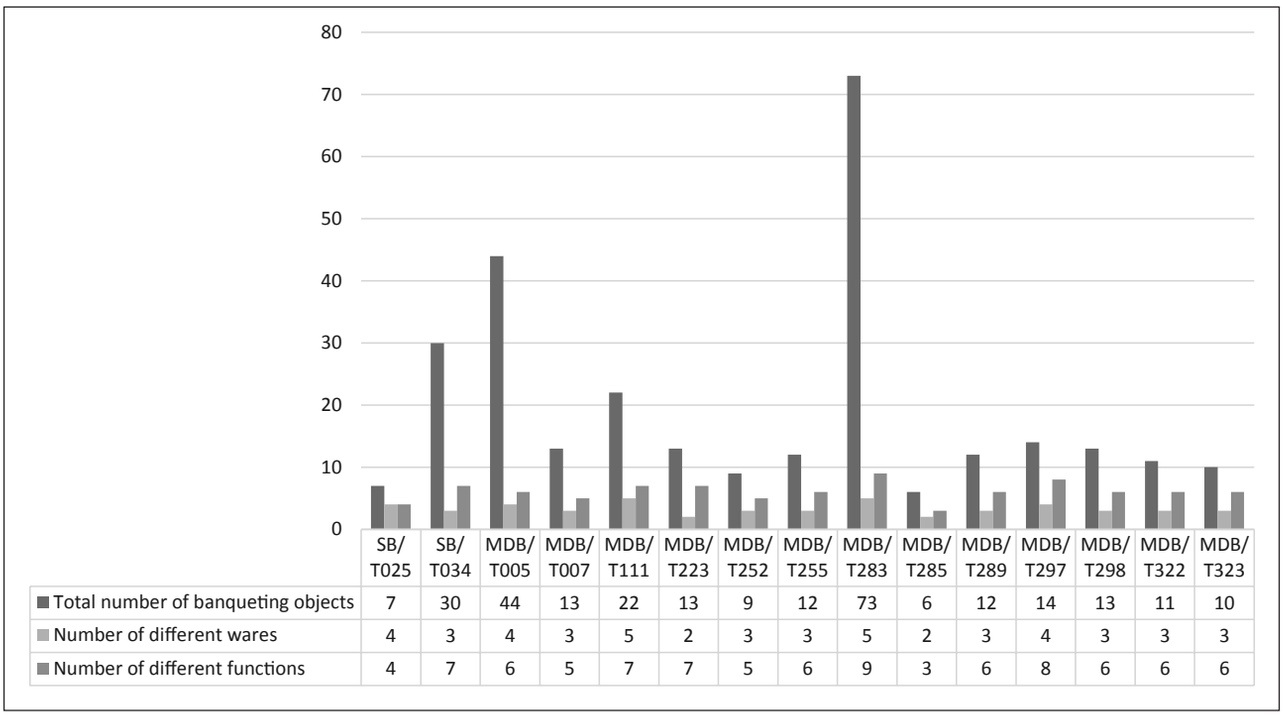
This section provides a sketch of the general lay-out of the IVA banqueting assemblages, based on an analysis of a number of tombs excavated by the GIA and the SSBAR.[369] The size of the banqueting sets of the tombs included in this analysis is very variable; the smallest assemblage consists of only 6 vessels, whereas the largest set comprises a total of 73 objects. Most assemblages consist of 9 to 14 objects (see fig. 3.24); the average number of banqueting objects per tomb is a little over 19. The banqueting assemblages consist mostly of ceramic vessels, but

369 The analysis is based on all IVA tombs investigated by the GIA containing a complete banqueting set, namely MDB/T111, MDB/T223, MDB/T252, MDB/T255, MDB/T283, MDB/T285, MDB/T289, MDB/T297, MDB/T298, MDB/T322 and MDB/T323. Several tombs could not be incorporated in the analysis, because erosion has caused the total or partial loss of the banqueting set; MDB/T250, MDB/T253, MDB/T256, MDB/T293, MDB/T294, MDB/T295, MDB/T296 and MDB/T299. Unfortunately, a great many tombs has suffered from illicit excavations and could therefore neither be used for an analysis of the banqueting assemblage; MDB/T071, MDB/T076, MDB/T217, MDB/T231, MDB/T232, MDB/T258, MDB/T259, MDB/T281, MDB/T284 and MDB/T326. MDB/T286 has not been included, because the contents of the head niche are probably no longer complete, since the creation of the dromos of MDB/T287 caused the partial damage of the niche and the destruction and loss of some of the objects deposited inside of it.

The following tombs investigated by the SSBAR have been included as well: MDB/T005, MDB/T007, SB/T025 (di Gennaro 1990d) and SB/T034 (Belelli Marchesini 2006a), only the adult female deposition inside this grave has been taken into account).

Note that whereas different types of tombs will have suffered equally from the damage brought about by the erosion as a result of ploughing, we may suspect that tomb robbers have focused their effort on the most promising tombs, i.e. the large fossa tombs containing large amounts of ceramic objects. As a consequence, elaborate banqueting sets may be underrepresented in our sample. It should be stressed, however, that an analysis of the banqueting assemblages should not only be based on the amount of vessels, but should look at the variety in function and material as well. The limited number of tombs listed above does permit a study of this kind.

One should therefore note that the sample used for the present analysis is not representative for all IVA tombs of Crustumerium, but it may provide some valuable insights into the range and variability of the composition of the banqueting sets from this period.



	SB/T025	SB/T034	MDB/T005	MDB/T007	MDB/T111	MDB/T223	MDB/T252	MDB/T255	MDB/T283	MDB/T285	MDB/T289	MDB/T297	MDB/T298	MDB/T322	MDB/T323
Total number of banqueting objects	7	30	44	13	22	13	9	12	73	6	12	14	13	11	10
Number of different wares	4	3	4	3	5	2	3	3	5	2	3	4	3	3	3
Number of different functions	4	7	6	5	7	7	5	6	9	3	6	8	6	6	6

Figure 3.24 Overview of the banqueting sets in IVA tombs (specifying the total number of objects, the number of different functions and the number of different ceramic wares).

in some instances vessels made out of metal occur as well.[370] As regards the ware of the ceramic objects, the large majority is made out of impasto (bruno (scuro)) (see fig. 3.25). Depurated clay, bucchero, impasto rosso and impasto bruno sottile appear as well, albeit far less frequently. None of the assemblages is built up of vessels made exclusively out of one ceramic ware; each assemblage consists of objects made out of two to five different ceramic wares (see fig. 3.24), with an average of 3.3 different wares per set. Note that the size of the assemblage does not seem to influence the variety; even a small assemblage can still consist of various wares.

An analysis of the functional characteristics of the banqueting vessels reveals a great variety within each assemblage.[371] The following functions occur in each of the studied assemblages: drinking,[372] eating and storing/pouring liquids (see fig. 3.27a and 3.27b). Other functional categories that have been traced in most assemblages are food preparation (/presentation) and storing liquids. Functional categories that occur only rarely are mixing, covering and storing (food).

An overall analysis of the occurrence of the various categories in each individual banqueting assemblage reveals a great functional variety; the assemblages represent 3 to 9 different functional categories,[373] with an average of about 6 functional categories per tomb.

Note that the level of redundancy is mostly quite high in the IVA banqueting sets; anforette usually occur in pairs, just as the ciotole and the tazze. Indeed, MDB/T283 held as many as 55 tazzine-attingitoio.

370 MDB/T283 contained a bronze basin, supported by an iron tripod. None of the other tombs included in this selection yielded metal banqueting vessels. However, we do have other examples of metal banqueting items from some of the other GIA tombs; MDB/T071 yielded a bronze basin, supported by a bronze tripod and MDB/T222 contained a hemispherical bronze bowl.

The knives that occurred among the vessels of the banqueting set have been attributed to the category of banqueting objects as well. The head niche of MDB/T005, MDB/T111, MDB/T289 and MDB/T322 contained an iron knife. MDB/T250 yielded a knife as well, but due to the severe erosion of the architecture of the tomb and the subsequent movement of the funerary gifts, it is no longer possible to determine whether the knife was originally buried with the deceased (and as such formed part of the set of personal objects), or whether it formed part of the banqueting set. A knife was also encountered in the head niche of MDB/T217. However, since the niche also contained the skeletal remains of a deposition, it is not clear whether the object formed part of the banqueting set or of the personal objects that accompanied the deceased.

371 See *Appendix 2: Reconstruction the function of banqueting objects* for a description of the function attributed to each vessel type. See Chapter 2, note 196 for the problems inherent to the determination of the function of a vessel.

372 The functional category drinking (d) is sometimes elaborated with another function (offering a drink (d/o), passing a drink around (d/p) or scooping (d/s). The number of objects per subcategory is specified in fig. 3.27b.

373 Number of functional categories per banqueting set: MDB/T005: 6, MDB/T007: 5, MDB/T111: 7, MDB/T223: 7, MDB/T252: 5, MDB/T255: 6, MDB/T283: 9, MDB/T285: 3, MDB/T289: 6, MDB/T297: 8, MDB/T298: 6, MDB/T322: 6, MDB/T323: 6, SB/T025: 4 and SB/T034: 7.

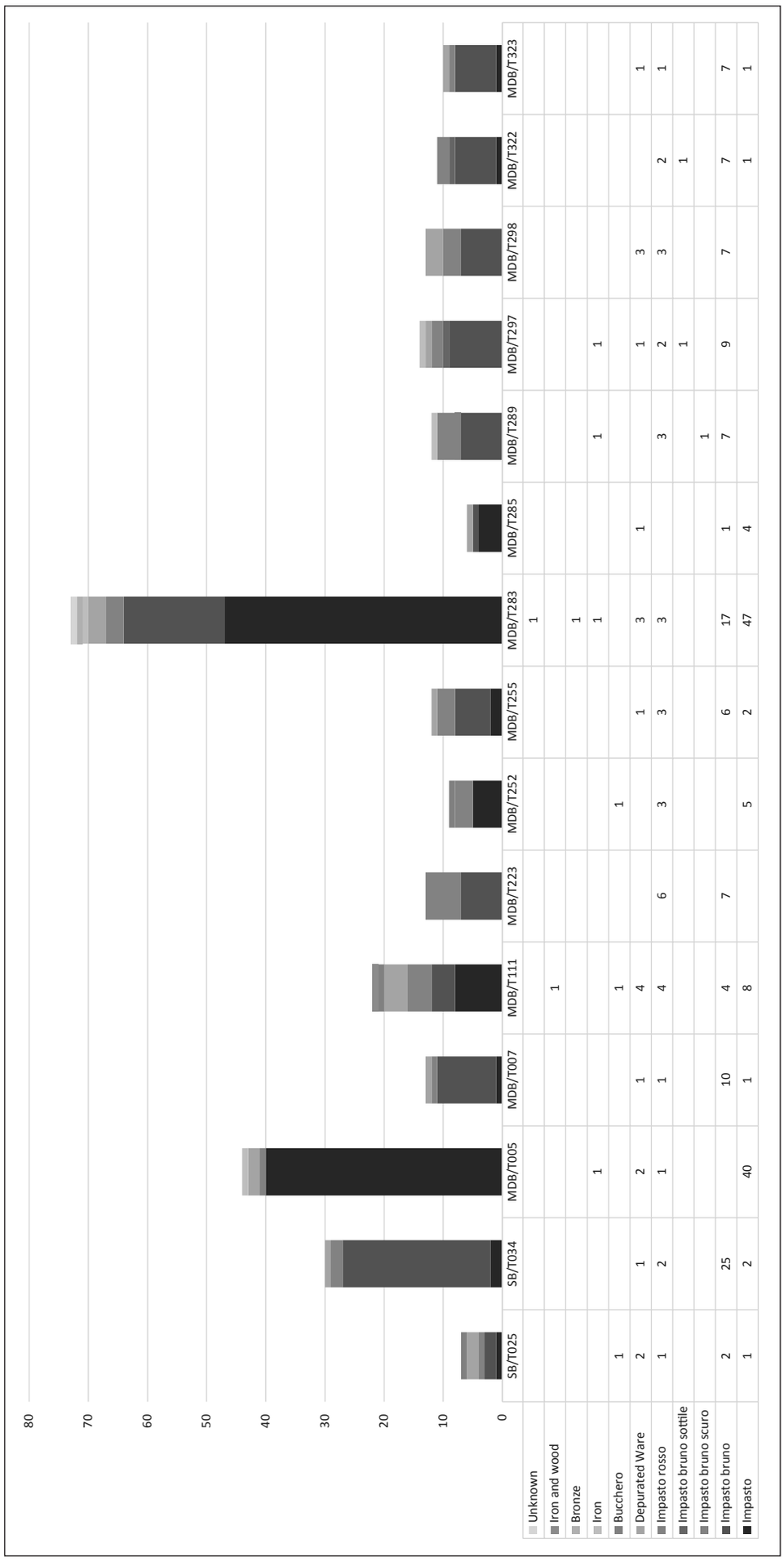
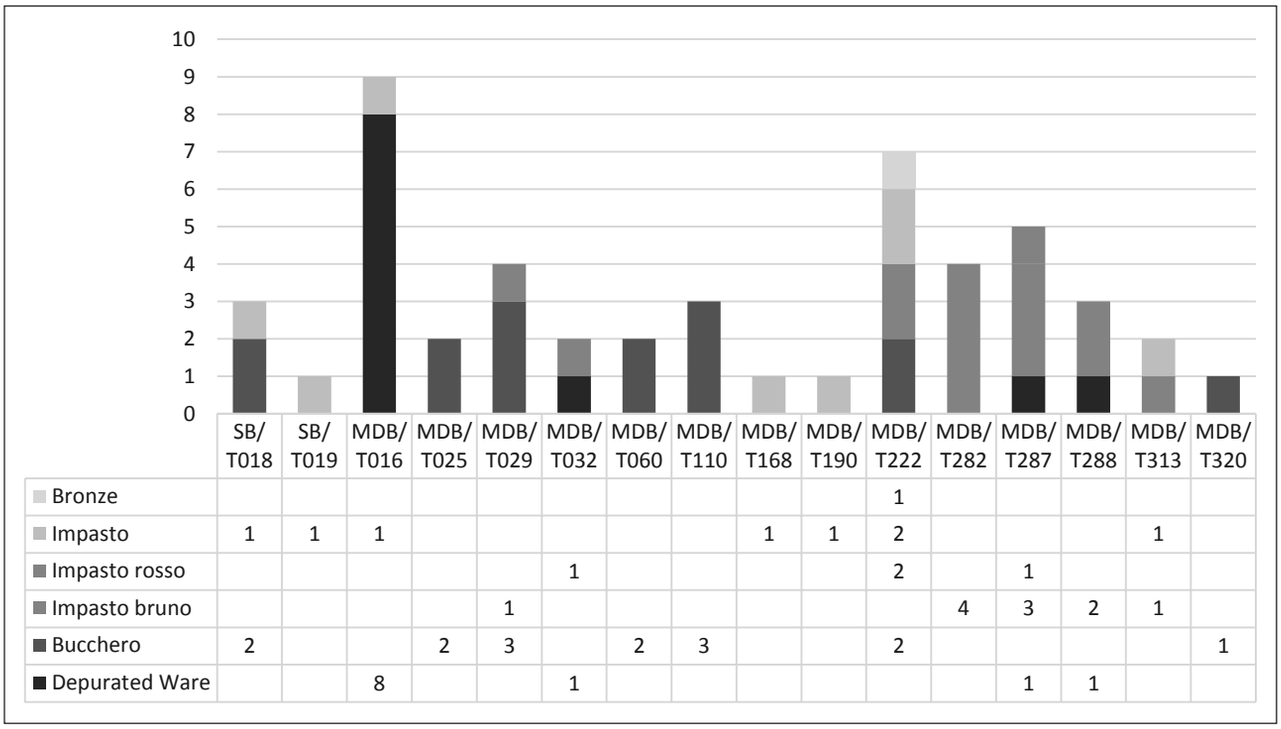


Figure 3.25 Number of objects per ware type in IVA banqueting sets.



	SB/ T018	SB/ T019	MDB/ T016	MDB/ T025	MDB/ T029	MDB/ T032	MDB/ T060	MDB/ T110	MDB/ T168	MDB/ T190	MDB/ T222	MDB/ T282	MDB/ T287	MDB/ T288	MDB/ T313	MDB/ T320
Bronze											1					
Impasto	1	1	1						1	1	2				1	
Impasto rosso						1					2		1			
Impasto bruno					1							4	3	2	1	
Bucchero	2			2	3		2	3			2					1
Depurated Ware			8			1							1	1		

Figure 3.26 Number of objects per ware type in IVB/Archaic banqueting sets.

The high number of banqueting objects inside MDB/T283 is thus mainly a result of the extremely large number of drinking/scooping vessels; the number of vases for all other categories does not exceed the average. However, the assemblage does represent the largest variety of functional categories.

Banqueting sets in IVB/Archaic tombs

As will become clear in the following, the late tombs[374] generally contain a rather limited number of banqueting vessels, if any at all. Of the 39 tombs selected for the sample of late tombs, only 14 yielded one or more banqueting vessels.[375] The number of vessels inside these 14 tombs varies between 1 and 9 objects (see fig. 3.28), with an average of about 3 vessels per tomb. Taking the number of burials deposited inside these tombs into account, the average amount of vessels accompanying each deceased individual varies between 0.5 and 4 vessels.[376] Taking the depositions inside all the tombs of the 'late tombs sample' into account, the average amount of vessels would be only 0.5 vessel per deposition.

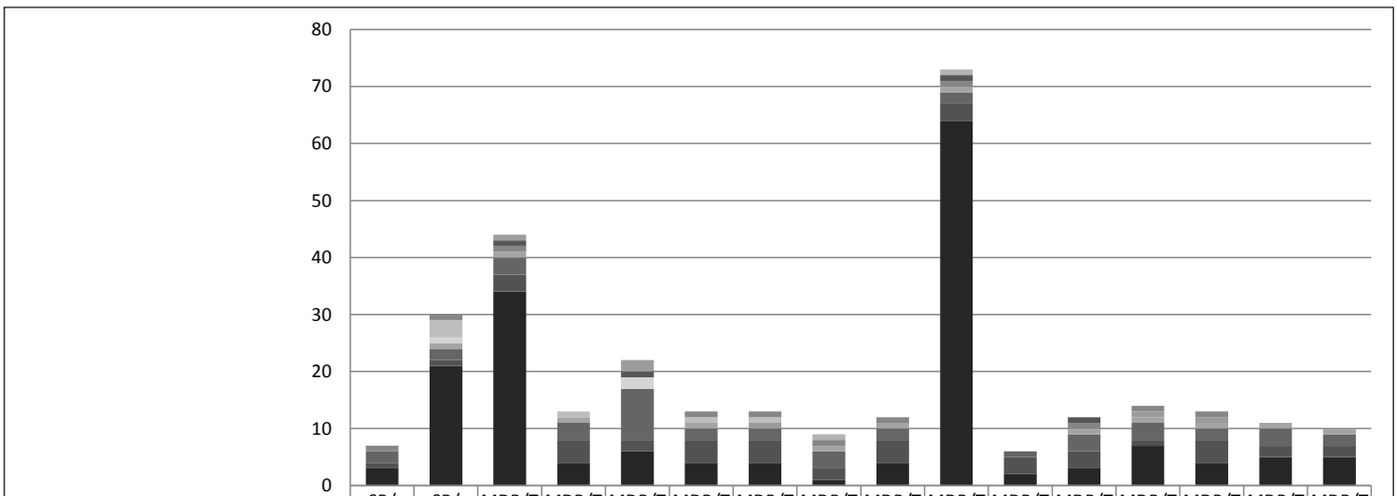
The banqueting assemblages of the late tombs consist mostly of ceramic vessels, but there is one example of a metal object deposited in one of the late tombs (see fig. 3.26). As regards the ware of the ceramic objects, the majority is made of bucchero. Depurated clay, impasto (bruno) and impasto rosso appear as

374 The analysis of the banqueting sets of the last period of the burial grounds is based on the following late tombs; CG/T001, CG/T005, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T132, MDB/T168, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T254, MDB/T257, MDB/T274, MDB/T280, MDB/T282, MDB/T287, MDB/T288, MDB/T290, MDB/T313, MDB/T320, MDB/T321, SB/T022, SB/T018, SB/T019, SB/T023 and SB/T031. As has been described in note 306 and 307, several chamber tombs have been recognised in the field, but have not been (completely) excavated. Although we may assume that a large part of these tombs date to the IVB/Archaic period, they are naturally unsuitable for a study of the composition of the banqueting set in this period.

MDB/T203 has not been included in this sample, because although it is quite poor in terms of funerary gifts, the pottery found inside it suggests a date before the end of the 7th century BC. The same seems to apply to MDB/T313, but since this tomb is exceptional in terms of its architecture, and because it is spatially closely related to the chamber tomb MDB/T317, it is considered a late tomb (consultation with Belelli Marchesini, May 21st 2012).

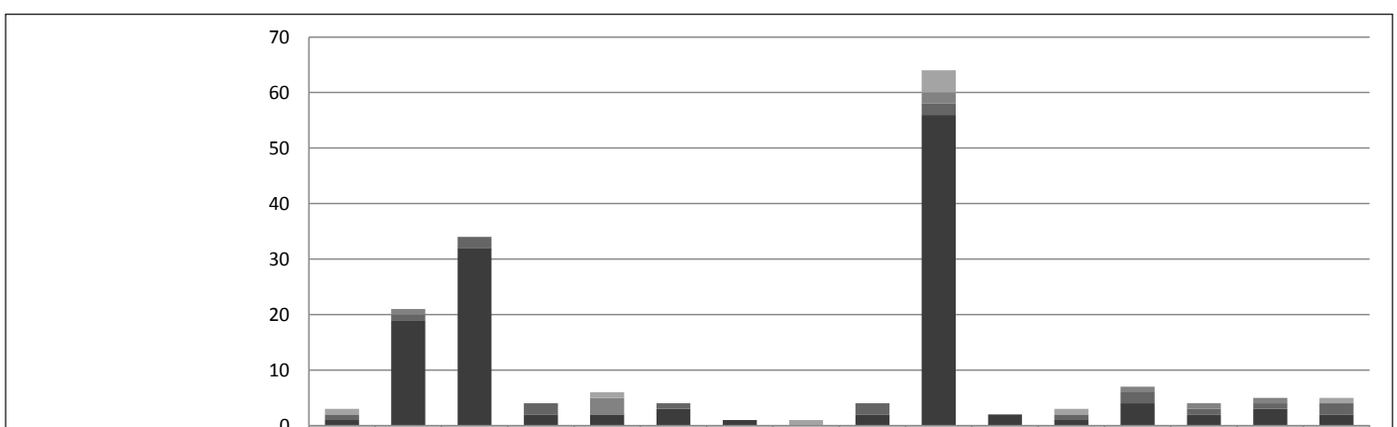
375 Tombs without any banqueting vessel: CG/T001, CG/T005, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T132, MDB/T187, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T229, MDB/T254, MDB/T257, MDB/T274, MDB/T280, MDB/T282, MDB/T290, MDB/T321, SB/T022, SB/T023, and SB/T031. MDB/T287 may have originally contained one or more banqueting vessels, but due to illicit activity near the entrance to the chamber and because of the complex chronology of MDB/T286, MDB/T287 and MDB/T288 (see also note 351 above), it is impossible to reconstruct the number of vessels that had once been deposited in the chamber.

376 Average number of banqueting objects per deposition inside each tomb: MDB/T016: 3, MDB/T025: 1/2, MDB/T029: 1 1/3, MDB/T032: 1/2, MDB/T060: 2/3, MDB/T110: 3, MDB/T168: 1, MDB/T190: 1/2, MDB/T222: 1 1/5, MDB/T288: 3, MDB/T313: 2, MDB/T320: 1, SB/T018: 3 and SB/T019: 1.



	SB/ T025	SB/ T034	MDB/T 005	MDB/T 007	MDB/T 111	MDB/T 223	MDB/T 223	MDB/T 252	MDB/T 255	MDB/T 283	MDB/T 285	MDB/T 289	MDB/T 297	MDB/T 298	MDB/T 322	MDB/T 323
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Covering	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food preparation	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Food preparation/food presentation	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
Mixing	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Storing	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Storing food	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Storing liquids	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Storing/pouring liquids	2	2	3	3	9	2	2	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	2
Eating	1	1	3	4	2	4	4	2	4	3	3	3	1	4	2	2
Drinking	3	21	34	4	6	4	4	1	4	64	2	3	7	4	5	5

Figure 3.27a Overview of the various functions of the objects in IVA banqueting sets.



	SB/ T025	SB/ T034	MDB/T 005	MDB/T 007	MDB/T 111	MDB/T 223	MDB/T 223	MDB/T 252	MDB/T 255	MDB/T 283	MDB/T 285	MDB/T 289	MDB/T 297	MDB/T 298	MDB/T 322	MDB/T 323
Drinking general	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
Drinking/offering a drink	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	0
Drinking/passing drink around	1	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	2	1	1	2
Drinking/scooping	1	19	32	2	2	3	1	0	2	56	2	1	4	2	3	2

Figure 3.27b Overview of the various types of drinking vessels in IVA banqueting sets.

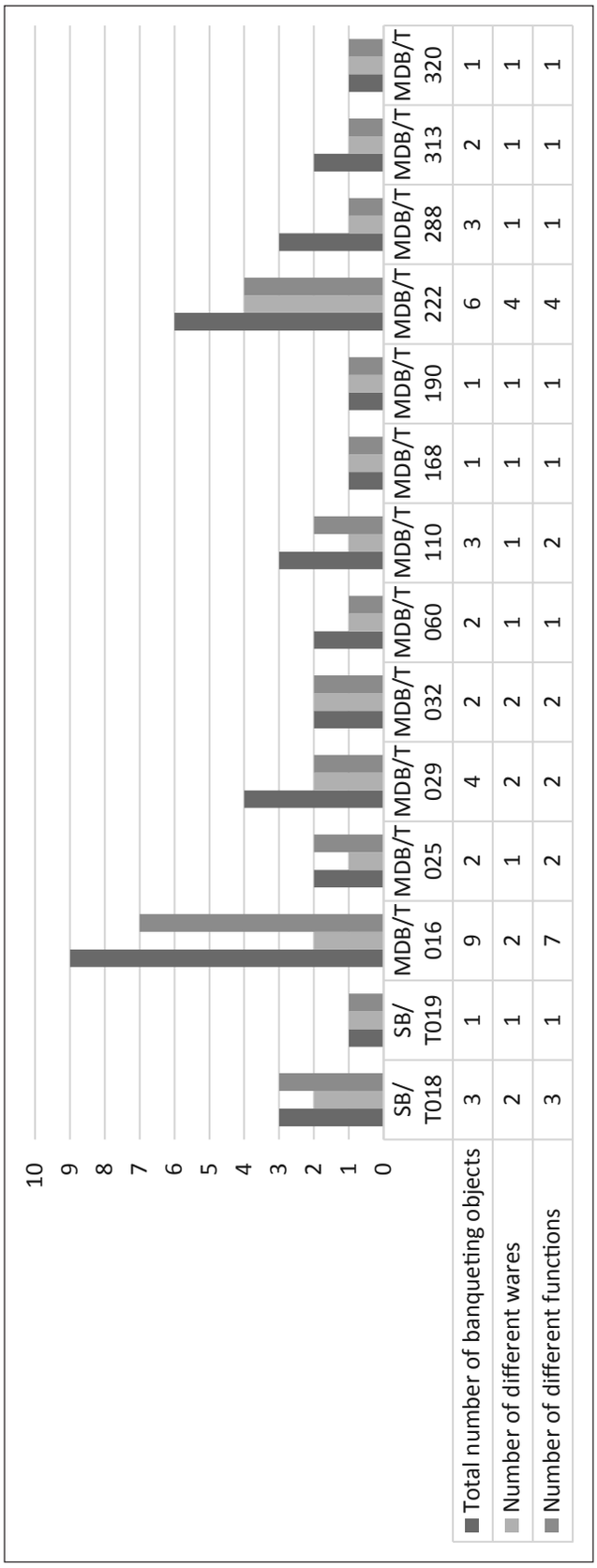


Figure 3.28 Overview of the banqueting sets in IVB/Archaic tombs (specifying the total number of objects, the number of different functions and the number of different ceramic wares).

well, albeit far less frequently.[377] Impasto bruno sottile does not appear in any of the tombs of this sample.

The variation in (ceramic) wares within each banqueting set is not very large; most assemblages consist of one or two different wares, although a few consist of three or four different ones (see fig. 3.28). The late tombs have an average of 1.6 different wares per set.[378]

An analysis of the functional characteristics of the banqueting vessels reveals a limited variety within each assemblage. The following functions occur in most of the studied assemblages: drinking[379] and storing/pouring liquids (see fig. 3.29a and 3.29b). A limited number of tombs yielded vessels representing the functional class 'storing liquids'. Functional categories that occur only rarely are eating, covering and storing (food).

An overall analysis of the occurrence of the various categories in each individual banqueting assemblage reveals a very limited functional variety; the assemblages represent 1 to 7 different functional categories (see fig. 3.28), with an average of a little over 2 functional categories per tomb.

Altering location of banqueting vessels

The previous section has provided an overview of the way the banqueting set changed during the IVB/Archaic period, both in terms of representation of the functional classes and in terms of the amount of vessels. Another aspect of the banqueting sets inside the late tombs that should be taken into consideration is their location inside the grave.

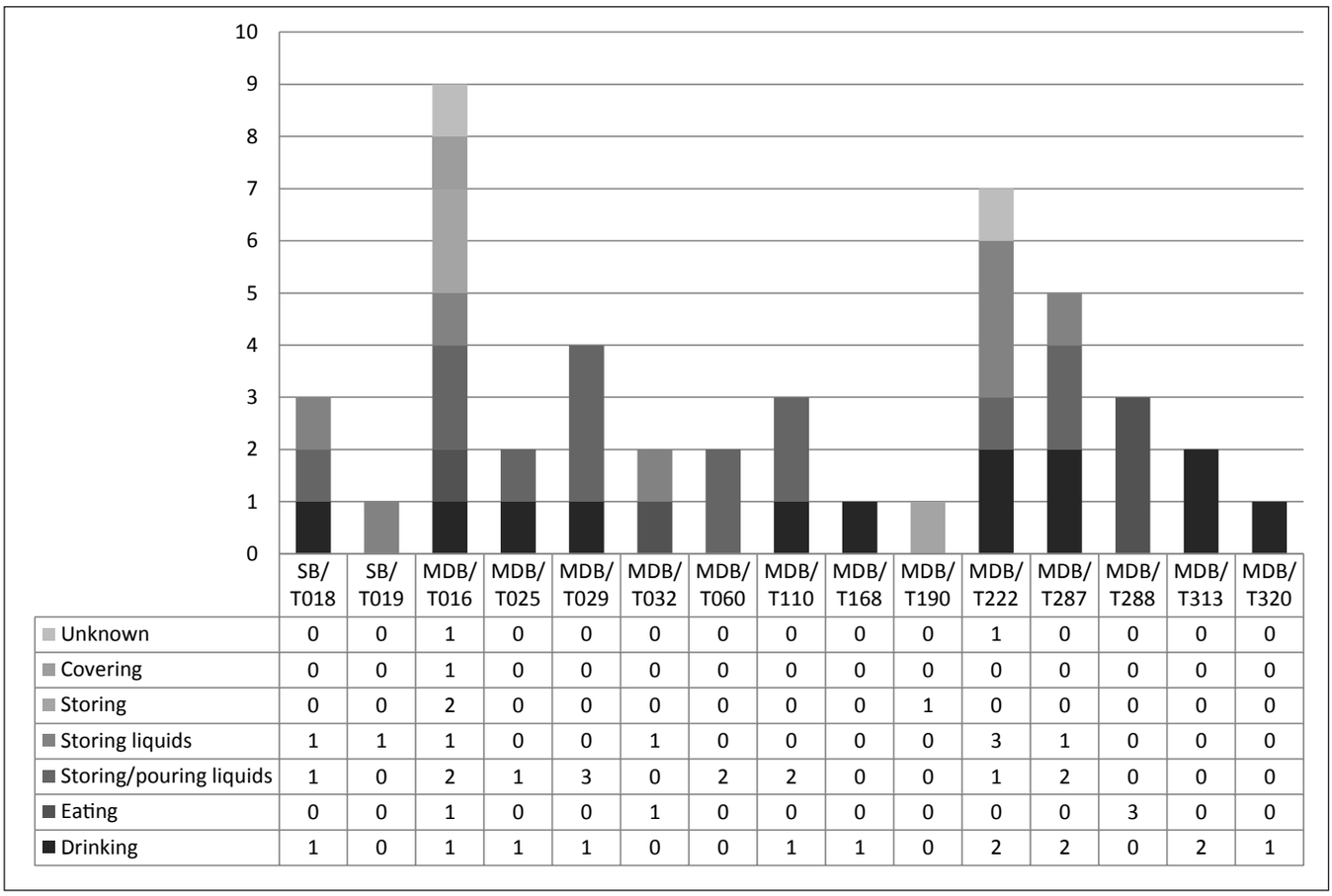
In the earlier fossa and loculus tombs, the banqueting vessels were deposited on a clearly defined location inside the tomb, either in the small head or side niche, or inside the loculus, at the apsidal head end. There are, however, a few examples of tombs in which the vessels were placed both at the head end and at the feet or alongside the body.

During the IVB/Archaic period, banqueting vessels are almost exclusively found inside the chamber tombs; the fossa and loculus tombs hardly yield items pertaining to a banqueting set. In case they did contain banqueting vessels, the vases were either placed

377 The average share of the different wares is as follows: impasto: 50%, depurated ware: 11%, bucchero: 37%, bronze: 1%.

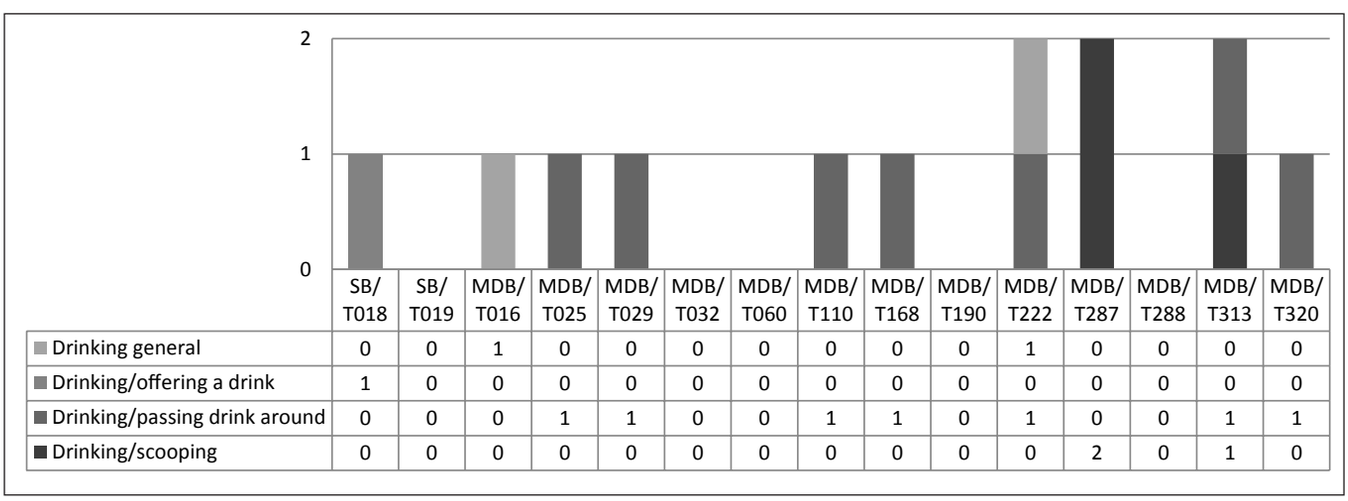
378 Note that the size of the assemblage is not necessarily correlated to the variation of the wares; the relatively large number of banqueting vessels inside MDB/T016 for example, consists of only two different ceramic wares.

379 The functional category drinking (d) is sometimes elaborated with another function (offering a drink (d/o), passing a drink around (d/p) or scooping (d/s). The number of objects per subcategory is specified in fig. 3.29b.



	SB/ T018	SB/ T019	MDB/ T016	MDB/ T025	MDB/ T029	MDB/ T032	MDB/ T060	MDB/ T110	MDB/ T168	MDB/ T190	MDB/ T222	MDB/ T287	MDB/ T288	MDB/ T313	MDB/ T320
Unknown	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Covering	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Storing	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Storing liquids	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0
Storing/pouring liquids	1	0	2	1	3	0	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Eating	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Drinking	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	1

Figure 3.29a Overview of the various functions of the objects in IVB/Archaic banqueting sets.



	SB/ T018	SB/ T019	MDB/ T016	MDB/ T025	MDB/ T029	MDB/ T032	MDB/ T060	MDB/ T110	MDB/ T168	MDB/ T190	MDB/ T222	MDB/ T287	MDB/ T288	MDB/ T313	MDB/ T320
Drinking general	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Drinking/offering a drink	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drinking/passing drink around	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
Drinking/scooping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0

Figure 3.29b Overview of the various types of drinking vessels in IVB/Archaic banqueting sets.

inside the loculus,[380] in the caditoia,[381] the fossa,[382] or the head niche.[383]

The location of the banqueting vessels inside the chamber tombs is quite variable. The vessels have been found on various different locations on the floor of the chamber,[384] possibly as a result of post-depositional effects, such as the flooding of the chamber. There are only a few examples of chamber tombs in which banqueting vessels have been placed inside the loculus in direct relation with the deposition.[385] There is one example of a vessel placed inside the caditoia of a chamber tomb.[386]

3.4.2 Personal objects

The decreasing funerary wealth does not only apply to the composition and elaborateness of the banqueting sets, but also to the set of personal objects accompanying the deceased. In order to better understand how the amount and character of the personal objects deposited in the late tombs differed from those of the previous period, the following section will deal with the general lay-out of the personal assemblages in Latial period IVA first, based on an analysis of a number of tombs excavated by the GIA and the SSBAR.[387]

The amount of personal objects accompanying the deceased in the IVA tombs varied between 1 and 15 (see fig. 3.30), with an average of a little over 5 objects per deposition. The later tombs contain between 0 and 14 personal objects (see fig. 3.31), with an average of about 2 objects per tomb and about 1 object per deposition.

The following sections will first deal with the amount and character of the personal *functional* objects in the IVA tombs and those inside the later ones. Secondly, the appearance of personal *ornamental* objects inside the earlier and the later tombs will be dealt with.

Functional objects in IVA tombs

In the IVA tombs the amount of personal *functional* objects accompanying the deceased varies between 0 and 9 (see fig. 3.32), with an average of 1.8 objects per deposition. Within the functional objects one can discern various categories; unguentaria, objects used for fighting/defence, and items used for spinning (see fig. 3.32).

Most tombs contain only one of the categories listed above; there is only one tomb in which two categories of personal functional objects are represented.[388] Within the sample of IVA tombs under study here,[389] about 11% contained one or more unguentaria, 37% yielded items related to spinning and 42% of the tombs contained one or more items used for fighting/defence. Note that none of the tombs contain

380 MDB/T288 and MDB/T320.
381 SB/T018 and SB/T019.
382 MDB/T168.
383 MDB/T313.
384 Banqueting vessels have been found on the chamber floor inside MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060 and MDB/T222.
385 The loculus of MDB/T060 yielded an oinochoe; the loculus of MDB/T110 contained two oinochoai and a kantharos.
386 A small olla was placed on top of a pile of tuff blocks that covered a secondary deposition inside the shaft of MDB/T190. The dromos of MDB/T287 yielded a lot of smaller and larger pottery fragments, but they had originally probably been deposited inside the chamber and had been removed from it on a later date. Due to the fact that three tombs overlap each other at this location (MDB/T286, MDB/T287 and MDB/T288), and because of recent disturbance of the context, attributing the pottery to one or the other tomb proves extremely difficult (see also the Tomb Catalogue).
387 The present analysis is based on all IVA tombs excavated by the GIA that were equipped with a complete set of personal objects, namely MDB/T076, MDB/T111, MDB/T223, MDB/T231, MDB/T232, MDB/T250, MDB/T252, MDB/T255, MDB/T258, MDB/T284, MDB/T285, MDB/T296, MDB/T297, MDB/T298, MDB/T322 and MDB/T323. The deposition inside MDB/T283 has not been completely investigated as of yet and the personal objects that have been excavated have not yet been restored. This tomb has therefore been left out of the present analysis. Several tombs could not be incorporated in the analysis, because erosion has caused the partial or total loss of the set of personal objects; MDB/T253, MDB/T256, MDB/T293, MDB/T294, MDB/T295, MDB/T296 and MDB/T299. Unfortunately, a great many tombs has suffered from illicit excavations and could therefore neither be used for an analysis of the personal objects; MDB/T071, MDB/T217, MDB/T259, MDB/T289 and MDB/T326. Because ascribing the personal objects to one or the other deposition inside MDB/T281 proved very difficult, this tomb has been left out of the sample as well.
The following published SSBAR tombs have been included as well; MDB/T007, SB/T025 and SB/T034. MDB/T005 has not been included, because the function and character of many of the bronze and iron objects is unclear.
388 MDB/T252: fighting/defence and an unguentarium.
389 The sample consists of 19 tombs (see note 387 above).

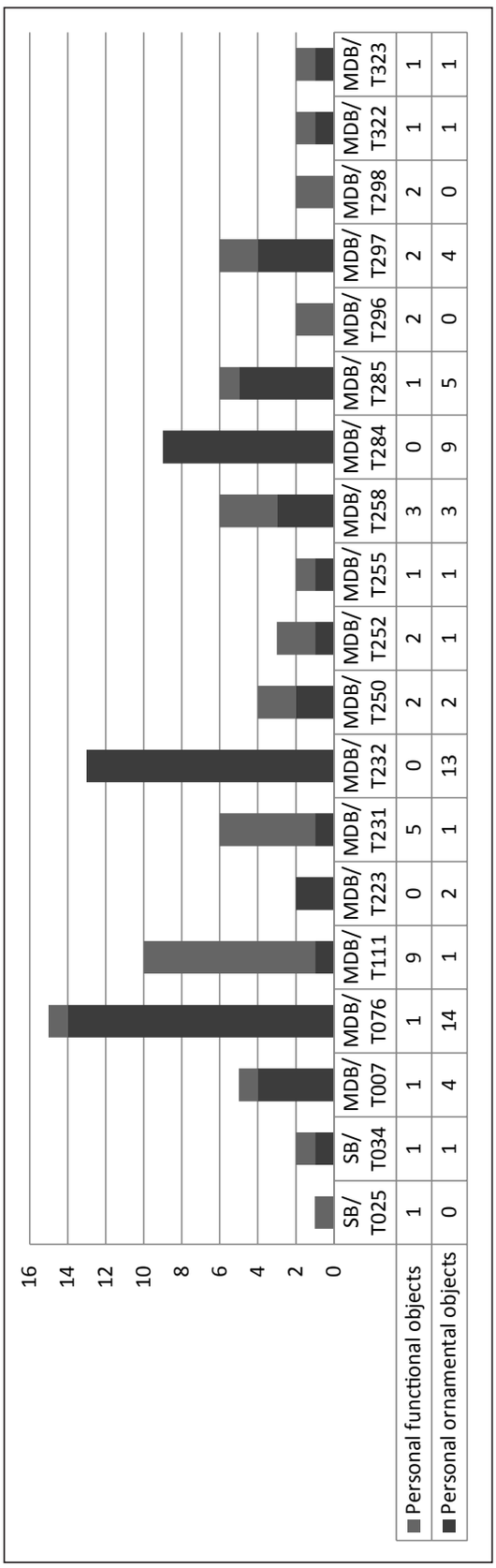


Figure 3.30 Number of functional and ornamental objects in IVA tombs.

items of both the spinning/weaving category *and* the fighting/defence category. Of the 21 depositions buried inside the IVA tombs under study here, 16 were accompanied by one or more personal functional objects,[390] representing a share of more than 76%.

Personal ornamental objects in IVA tombs

The amount of personal *ornamental* objects accompanying the deceased in the IVA tombs varies between 0 and 14 (see fig. 3.33), with an average of about 4 objects per buried individual. The majority of the personal ornamental objects are made out of bronze, but iron occurs rather frequently as well (see fig. 3.34). A limited number of personal ornaments are made out of a combination of different materials, such as bronze, amber and ivory, or iron and bronze. There is one ornament of glass paste.

There are various kinds of personal ornaments (see fig. 3.33). The fibula occurs most frequently, but bracelets, clasps, rings, fermatrecce, suspension rings, beads and diadems appear as well. The shape of one personal ornamental object could not be determined.

Of the 21 depositions buried inside the IVA tombs under study here, 16 were accompanied by one or more personal ornamental objects,[391] representing a share of about 76%.

Gender patterns in IVA tombs

The ratio of personal functional/personal ornamental objects in the IVA tombs, related to the gender of the depositions they were buried with, indicates that the share of personal ornamental objects is generally larger in the female tombs, whereas the share of personal functional objects is mostly larger in the male tombs (see fig. 3.35).[392] Of the female burials, 4 out of 8 were accompanied by a functional object, as opposed to

390 The following depositions were accompanied by one or more personal functional objects: MDB/T007/01*, MDB/T076/01*, MDB/T111/01*, MDB/T231/01*, MDB/T250/01*, MDB/T252/01*, MDB/T255/01*, MDB/T258/01*, MDB/T285/01*, MDB/T296/01*, MDB/T297/01*, MDB/T298/01*, MDB/T322/01*, MDB/T323/01, SB/T025/01* and SB/T034/01*.

391 MDB/T007/01*, MDB/T076/01*, MDB/T111/01*, MDB/T223/01*, MDB/T231/01*, MDB/T232/01*, MDB/T250/01*, MDB/T252/01*, MDB/T255/01*, MDB/T258/01*, MDB/T284/01*, MDB/T285/01*, MDB/T297/01*, MDB/T322/01*, MDB/T323/02* and SB/T034/01*.

392 One should be aware of the circular argument in this reconstruction; the determination of the gender of the deceased is often based on the occurrence of certain types of functional or ornamental objects. Out of the 16 individuals cited in note 391, only 9 have been archaeologically and anthropologically gendered; the gender of the remaining 7 individuals is solely based on the accompanying objects (namely the gender of MDB/T250/01*, MDB/T255/01*, MDB/T258/01, MDB/T258/02*, MDB/T284/01*, MDB/T297/01*, MDB/T322/01*).

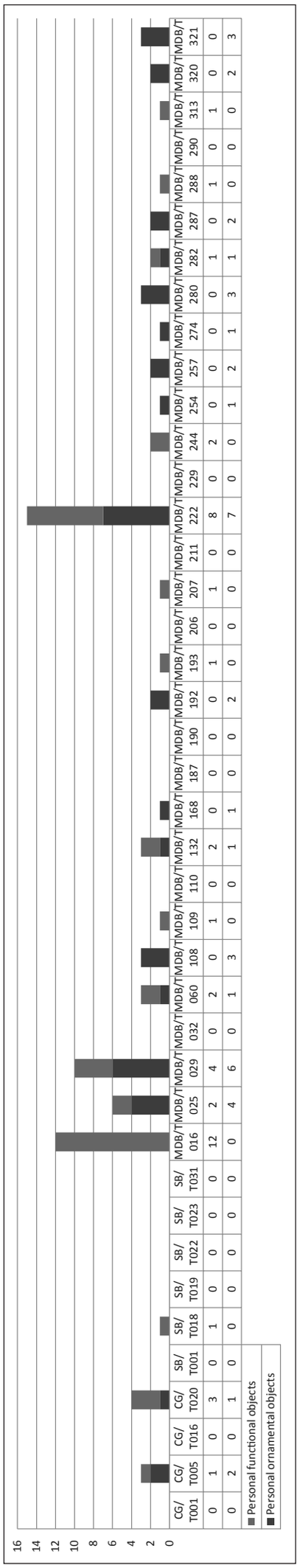


Figure 3.31 Number of functional and ornamental objects in IVB/Archaic tombs.

6 out of 6 male burials. Of the female burials 7 out of 8 were decorated with one or more personal ornaments, as opposed to 4 out of 6 male burials. The average number of personal functional objects per deposition is a little over 1 for female burials, and 2 for male burials. The average number of personal ornamental objects per deposition is a little over 6 for female burials, and a little less than 1 for male burials.

Functional objects in IVB/Archaic tombs

The amount of personal *functional* objects accompanying the deceased in the late tombs varies between 0 and 12 (see fig. 3.36), with an average of about 1 object per tomb and 0.5 objects per deposition. Within the larger group of functional objects one can discern the same categories as for the earlier tomb; unguentaria, objects used for fighting/defence, and items used for spinning. The exact function of some personal functional objects could not be determined. Most tombs contain only one of the categories listed above; very few tombs yielded personal functional objects of two or three different categories.[393] Within the sample of late tombs that yielded personal functional objects,[394] about 13% yielded items related to spinning, 30% contained one or more unguentaria and 60 % contained one or more items used for fighting/defence. One tomb yielded objects of the category fighting/defence *and* spinning.[395]

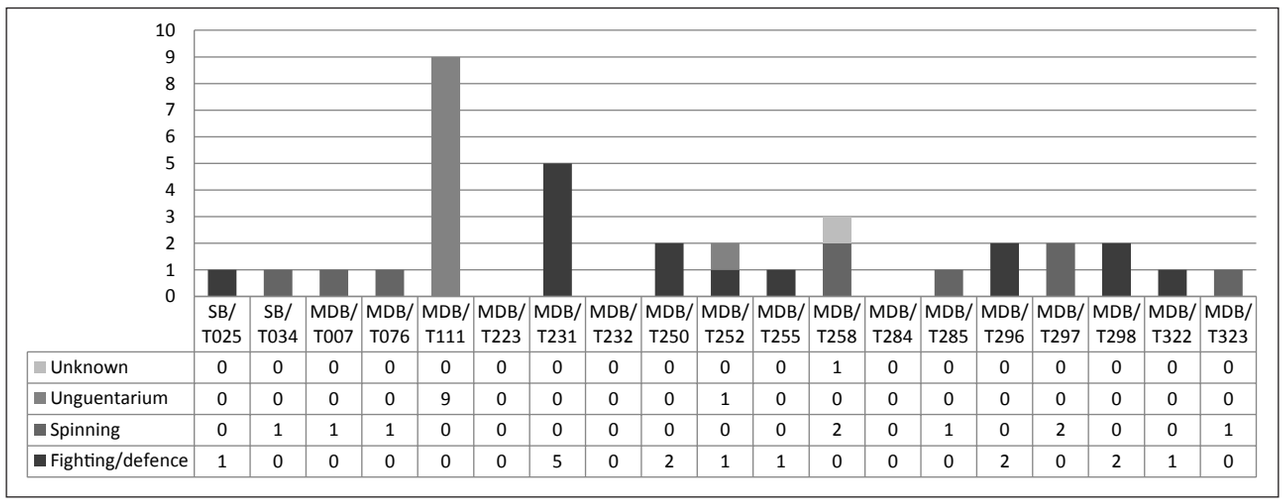
The late tombs contain a total of 84 depositions and yielded a total of 42 personal functional objects. Only 18 of these objects could be ascribed to a specific burial inside the tomb, resulting in a total of only 14 individuals that were certainly accompanied by one or more personal functional objects.[396] Leaving the depositions that have possibly been buried with

393 Number of personal functional categories per tomb: CG/T005: 0 (1 object with an unknown function), CG/T020: 1, MDB/T016: 3, MDB/T025: 1, MDB/T029: 1, MDB/T060: 1, MDB/T109: 1, MDB/T132: 1, MDB/T193: 1, MDB/T207: 1, MDB/T222: 2, MDB/T244: 1, MDB/T282: 0 (1 object with an unknown function), MDB/T288: 1, MDB/T313: 1 and SB/T018: 1.

394 The sample consists of 15 tombs (see fig. 3.36).

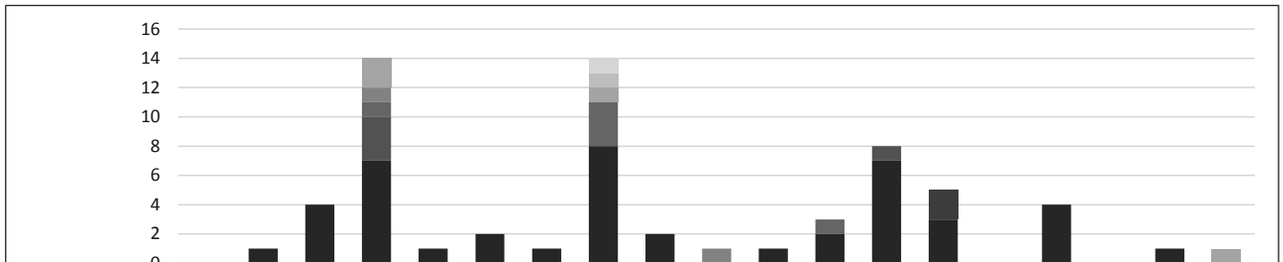
395 Being MDB/T016. Note however that the objects did not pertain to a single individual; a fusaiola was found with a female deposition and both the male depositions had been buried with a *punta di lancia*.

396 CG/T005/03*, CG/T020/01, CG/T020/02*, SB/T018/01*, MDB/T060/01, MDB/T132/02*, MDB/T193/02*, MDB/T207/01*, MDB/T222/03, MDB/T222/04, MDB/T244/01, MDB/T282/01*, MDB/T288/01* and MDB/T313/01*.



	SB/ T025	SB/ T034	MDB/ T007	MDB/ T076	MDB/ T111	MDB/ T223	MDB/ T231	MDB/ T232	MDB/ T250	MDB/ T252	MDB/ T255	MDB/ T258	MDB/ T284	MDB/ T285	MDB/ T296	MDB/ T297	MDB/ T298	MDB/ T322	MDB/ T323
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unguentarium	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spinning	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	1
Fighting/defence	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0

Figure 3.32 Number of personal functional objects in IVA tombs.



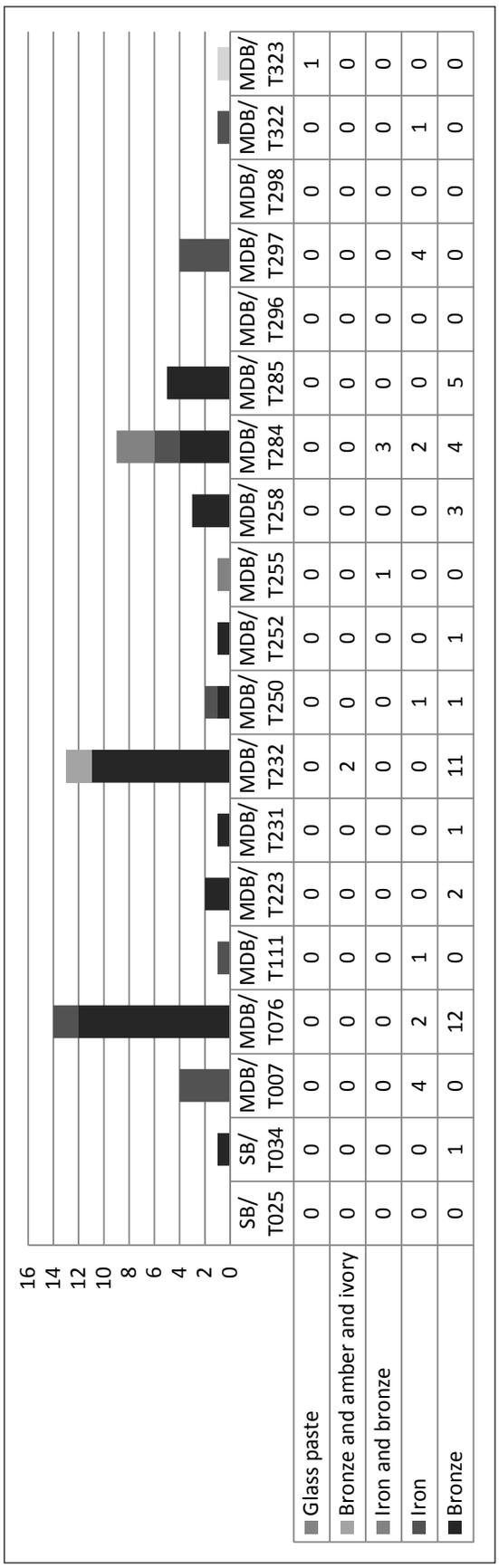
	SB/ T025	SB/ T034	MDB/ T007	MDB/ T076	MDB/ T111	MDB/ T223	MDB/ T231	MDB/ T232	MDB/ T250	MDB/ T252	MDB/ T255	MDB/ T258	MDB/ T284	MDB/ T285	MDB/ T296	MDB/ T297	MDB/ T298	MDB/ T322	MDB/ T323
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Multiple beads	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Diadem	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suspension ring	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ring	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clasp	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bracelet	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fermatrecce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Fibula	0	1	4	7	1	2	1	8	2	0	1	2	7	3	0	4	0	1	0

Figure 3.33 Number of personal ornamental objects in IVA tombs per object type.

a personal functional object aside,[397] there is still a large group of individuals that was certainly *not* accompanied by a personal functional item, simply because the tombs in which they were buried did not yield any objects pertaining to this category.[398] At least 39 individuals buried inside the late tombs did not receive a personal functional object, representing about 46% of all 'late' depositions. Those who did were accompanied by 1 to 4 personal functional

397 As stated above, only 18 of the 42 personal functional objects recovered from the late tombs could be attributed to a deposition with certainty. The remaining 24 objects cannot be attributed to a deposition, because they are not clearly spatially related to one of them or because their original location in the grave is now lost. This observation warns us that the actual number of depositions accompanied by a personal functional object must have been somewhat higher.

398 The following tombs did not yield any personal functional object: CG/T001, CG/T016, MDB/T032, MDB/T108, MDB/T110, MDB/T168, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T192, MDB/T206, MDB/T211, MDB/T229, MDB/T254, MDB/T257, MDB/T274, MDB/T280, MDB/T287, MDB/T290, MDB/T320, MDB/T321, SB/T019, SB/T022, SB/T023 and SB/T031.



	SB/ T025	SB/ T034	MDB/ T007	MDB/ T076	MDB/ T111	MDB/ T223	MDB/ T231	MDB/ T232	MDB/ T250	MDB/ T252	MDB/ T255	MDB/ T284	MDB/ T285	MDB/ T296	MDB/ T297	MDB/ T298	MDB/ T322	MDB/ T323
Glass paste	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bronze and amber and ivory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron and bronze	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	1	0
Bronze	0	1	0	12	0	2	1	11	1	1	0	4	5	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 3.34 Number of personal ornamental objects in IVA tombs per ware type.

	SB/ T025	MDB/ T231	MDB/ T250	MDB/ T252	MDB/ T255	MDB/ T296	MDB/ T298	SB/ T034	MDB/ T007	MDB/ T076	MDB/ T223	MDB/ T232	MDB/ T258	MDB/ T284	MDB/ T285	MDB/ T297	MDB/ T323/ 01	MDB/ T111	MDB/ T322	MDB/ T323/ 02
Functional (gender unknown)																		9	1	0
Ornamental (gender unknown)																		1	1	1
Functional (female)								1	1	1	0	0	4	0	1	2	1			
Ornamental (female)								1	4	14	2	13	3	9	5	4	0			
Functional (male)	1	5	2	2	1	2	2													
Ornamental (male)	0	1	2	1	1	0	0													

Figure 3.35 Distribution of functional and ornamental objects in IVA tombs containing a male or female burial or a burial with undetermined gender.

objects.[399] The overall average number of personal functional objects is 0.5 per deposition.

Personal ornamental objects in IVB/Archaic tombs
The amount of personal *ornamental* objects in the later tombs varies between 0 and 7 objects, with an average of about 1 object per tomb (see fig. 3.37). Taking the total number of burials deposited inside these late tombs into account, the average amount of objects per deposition would be around 0.5.

The majority of the personal ornamental objects are made out of bronze or iron (see fig. 3.38). A few personal ornaments are made out of a combination of iron and bronze. Some ornaments are made out of glass or amber. Since not all objects have been restored, it was not possible to determine the material of all personal objects.

The following personal ornaments objects appear in the late tombs: fibulae, rings, fermatrecce, bracelets and beads (see fig. 3.37). There is a number of objects of which the exact function could not be determined.

The sample of late tombs consists of 41 tombs, containing 84 depositions in total. Only 17 of these were certainly accompanied by one or more personal ornamental objects.[400] Leaving the depositions that may have been buried with a personal ornamental object aside,[401] there are 44 individuals that were certainly not buried with a personal ornamental item, because the tombs in which they were buried did not yield a single personal ornamental object.[402] They represent about 52% of all the 'late' depositions. The overall average number of personal ornamental objects is 0.5 per deposition.

Gender patterns in IVB/Archaic tombs
Since only a small number of depositions inside the late tombs were accompanied by one or more personal objects, and because the amount of objects was generally very small, an elaborate analysis of the ratio of functional/ornamental personal objects is somewhat problematic. However, an inventory of the depositions that do provide information regarding the accompanying personal objects,[403] results in the following overview. Of the female burials 5 out of 13 were accompanied by a functional object, as opposed to 7 out of 12 male burials. Of the female burials 9 out of 13 were decorated with one or more personal ornaments,[404] as opposed to 7 out of 12 male burials (see fig. 3.39). The average number of personal functional objects per deposition is about 0.3 for female burials, and 0.8 for male burials. The average number of personal ornamental objects per deposition is 1 for female burials, and about 0.6 for male burials.

3.5 The body

The following section deals with the mortuary domain of the body and looks at three new burial practices that appeared on the burial grounds surrounding Crustumerium from the middle of the 7th century onwards, namely multi-deposition,[405] secondary treatment of previously interred individuals and cremation.[406]

3.5.1 Multi-deposition

During the first phases of the burial grounds (IIB-IVA), as a rule, the tombs contained no more than

399 MDB/T016 yielded 12 personal functional objects, but since the objects could not be attributed to one of the three burials with certainty, the objects have been distributed evenly, i.e. 4 per individual.

400 CG/T005/03*, CG/T020/01, MDB/T132/01, MDB/T168/01*, MDB/T192/01, MDB/T222/01, MDB/T254/01*, MDB/T257/01, MDB/T257/02*, MDB/T274/01*, MDB/T280/01*, MDB/T282/01*, MDB/T287/01*, MDB/T320/01*, MDB/T321/01, MDB/T321/02 and MDB/T321/07*.

401 Only 21 of the 43 personal ornamental objects recovered from the late tombs could be attributed with certainty to the depositions listed above. For the remaining 22 objects this proved impossible, because they are not clearly spatially related to one of the depositions, or because their original location in the grave was lost. This observation warns us that the actual number of depositions accompanied by a personal ornamental object must have been somewhat higher.

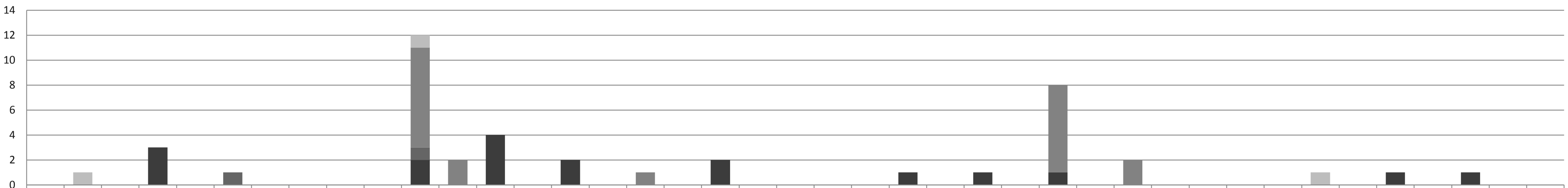
402 The following tombs did not yield any personal ornamental object: CG/T001, CG/T016, MDB/T032, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T190, MDB/T193, MDB/T206, MDB/T207, MDB/T211, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T288, MDB/T290, MDB/T321, SB/T018, SB/T019, SB/T022, SB/T023 and SB/T031.

403 The ratio between personal *functional* (f) and personal *ornamental* (o) objects is as follows for the late tombs containing depositions of the male, female or unknown sex: *Male*: CG/T020/01: f:3/o:1, MDB/T060/01: f:2/o:0, MDB/T132/02*: f:2/o:0, MDB/T193/02*: f:1/o:0, MDB/T207/01*: f:1/o:0, MDB/T222/01: f:0/o:1, MDB/T254/01*: f:0/o:1, MDB/T274/01*: f:0/o:1, MDB/T282/01*: f:1/o:1, MDB/T287/01*: f:0/o:2, MDB/T288: f:1/o:0, MDB/T313/01*: f:1/o:0 and MDB/T321/07*: f:0/o:1. *Female*: CG/T005/03*: f:1/o:2, CG/T020/02*: f:1/o:0 (Note that the functional object is a lance point, which was found in the vicinity of the urn), MDB/T108/01: f:0/o:3, MDB/T132/01: f:0/o:1, MDB/T168/01*: f:0/o:1, MDB/T222/03: f:1/o:0, MDB/T222/04: f:1/o:0, MDB/T257/01: f:0/o:1, MDB/T280/01*: f:0/o:3, MDB/T320/01*: f:0/o:2, MDB/T321/01: f:0/o:1, MDB/T321/02: f:0/o:2 and SB/T018/01*: f:1/o:0. *Unknown*: MDB/T192/01: f:0/o:2, MDB/T244/01: f:1/o:0 and MDB/T257/02*: f:0/o:1.

404 The exact maximum number of ornaments per deposition is not provided, because many of the objects could not be attributed to a specific burial.

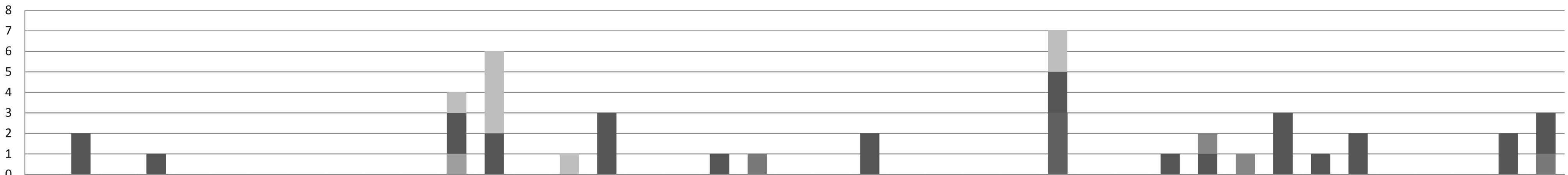
405 It will become clear in the following that the practice of burying multiple individuals in a single tomb already existed a little before the middle of the 7th century, but it occurred much more frequently from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards.

406 The cremation rite was not new to the burial grounds at Crustumerium, as will become clear below.



	CG/ T001	CG/ T005	CG/ T016	CG/ T020	SB/ T001	SB/ T018	SB/ T019	SB/ T022	SB/ T023	SB/ T031	MDB/T 016	MDB/T 025	MDB/T 029	MDB/T 032	MDB/T 060	MDB/T 108	MDB/T 109	MDB/T 110	MDB/T 132	MDB/T 168	MDB/T 187	MDB/T 190	MDB/T 192	MDB/T 193	MDB/T 206	MDB/T 207	MDB/T 211	MDB/T 222	MDB/T 229	MDB/T 244	MDB/T 254	MDB/T 257	MDB/T 274	MDB/T 280	MDB/T 282	MDB/T 287	MDB/T 288	MDB/T 290	MDB/T 313	MDB/T 320	MDB/T 321
Unknown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unguentarium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spinning	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fighting/defence	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0

Figure 3.36 Number of personal functional objects in IVB/Archaic tombs.



	CG/ T001	CG/ T005	CG/ T016	CG/ T020	SB/ T001	SB/ T018	SB/ T019	SB/ T022	SB/ T023	SB/ T031	MDB/ T016	MDB/ T025	MDB/ T029	MDB/ T032	MDB/ T060	MDB/ T108	MDB/ T109	MDB/ T110	MDB/ T132	MDB/ T168	MDB/ T187	MDB/ T190	MDB/ T192	MDB/ T193	MDB/ T206	MDB/ T207	MDB/ T211	MDB/ T222	MDB/ T229	MDB/ T244	MDB/ T254	MDB/ T257	MDB/ T274	MDB/ T280	MDB/ T282	MDB/ T287	MDB/ T288	MDB/ T290	MDB/ T313	MDB/ T320	MDB/ T321
Unknown ornamental object	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fibula	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	2	2
Fermatrecce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 3.37 Number of personal ornamental objects in IVB/Archaic tombs per object type.

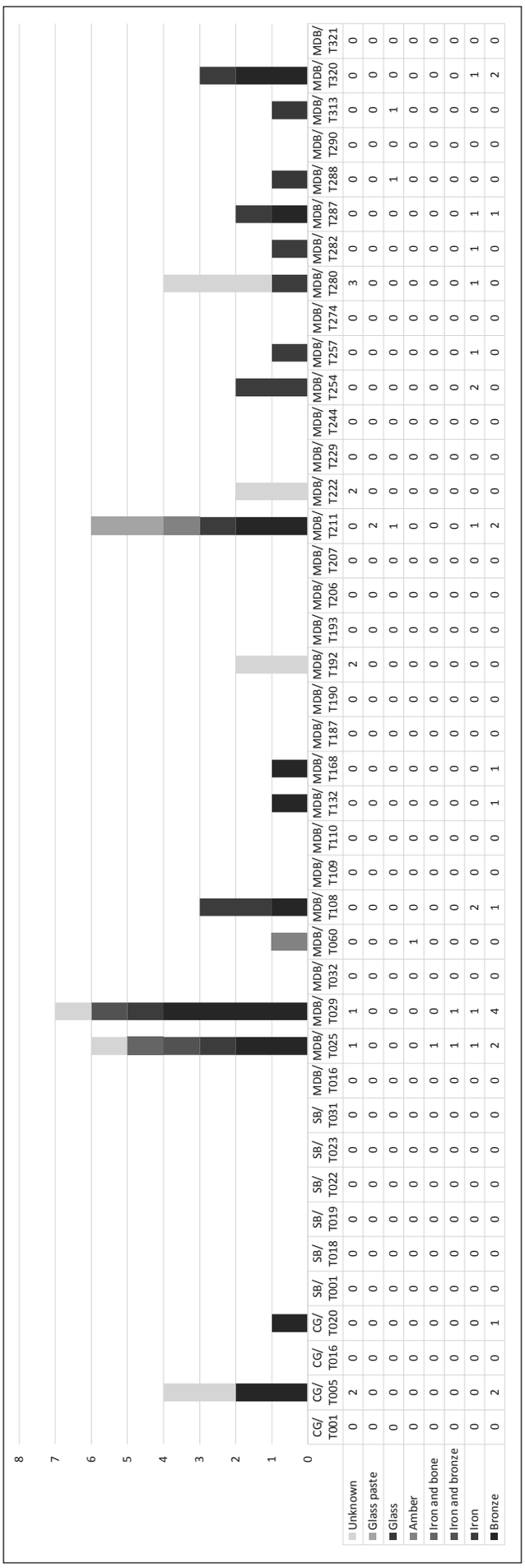


Figure 3.38 Number of personal ornamental objects in IVB/Archaic tombs per ware type.

one burial. Although there are a few loculus tombs dating to Latial period IVA that contained two burials,[407] and although there are some examples in which the shafts of older graves were being reused for the burial of an individual in a later period,[408] each tomb was in principle intended to house only one deposition. The only notable exception is formed by the *tipo Montarano* graves dating to Latial period IVA, which consisted of a shaft equipped with two lateral loculi.[409] However, just as in the *tipo Narce* graves, each loculus housed only one burial. It should further be noted that only a handful of *tipo Montarano* tombs has been identified and that they have so far only been attested at the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground.[410]

From the middle of the 7th century BC onwards, there is a clear shift in the way the tombs were being used. While 'traditional' tombs containing only one burial were still very numerous in this later period, loculus tombs containing two individuals occur as well.[411] The introduction of the much more spacious chamber tomb paved the way for the deposition of larger numbers of burials inside a single tomb. Although some of the earlier dating chamber tombs contained only one burial,[412] most of the later

407 Examples are MDB/T281and MDB/T323; the loculi of both tombs contained two individuals. However, since MDB/T281 contained the remains of two girls and MDB/T323 held a woman and a child, suggests the burials had entered the grave contemporaneously; fitting two individuals into the loculus would not have been problematic.

408 A new grave was cut out in the shaft of the tipo Narce tomb MDB/T284 (labelled as MDB/T326). The same practice has been attested for MDB/T056 (Belelli Marchesini 2008, note 24). The occurrence of a number of metal objects on a high level inside the shaft of MDB/T258 suggests that the shaft of this tomb may have been reused at a later moment as well.

409 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 105; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 16-17; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 8.

410 MDB/T004, MDB/T008, MDB/T009, MDB/T045 and MDB/T050 are the only examples of this tomb type known to date.

411 MDB/T257 contained a primary burial and a secondary deposition. The latter was pushed towards the back wall in order to make room for the former. Both individuals were adults. One of them was female, the gender of the other individual is unknown.

412 MDB/T298 for example, provisionally dated around 650-625 BC, housed only one burial.

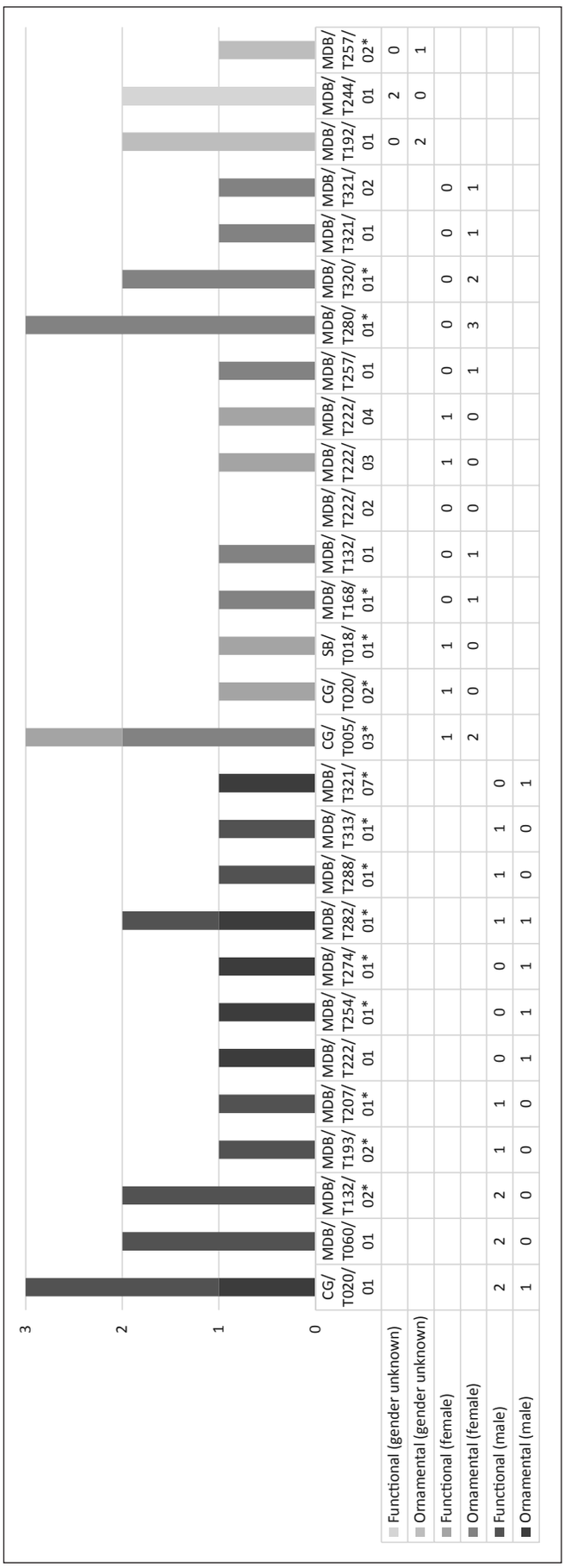


Figure 3.39 Distribution of functional and ornamental objects in IVB/Archaic tombs containing a male or female burial or a burial with undetermined gender.

exemplars housed multiple individuals.[413] In the IVB/Archaic period the number of individuals deposited inside a chamber tomb (including the caditoia or dromos) varied between 1 and 7 (see table 3.6), with an average of almost 3 depositions per chamber tomb.

The location of the burials was quite variable, but mostly dependent upon the architectonic characteristics of the chamber tomb. The deceased individuals were either buried on the floor of the chamber (ca. 42%), inside a loculus in the chamber (ca. 48%), or inside (a loculus in) the dromos or caditoia (ca. 9%) (see fig. 3.40 and table 3.6).

The loculi mostly contain one deposition, but there are a few examples of loculi with two or three individuals buried inside of them (see table 3.2). Loculi without a burial have occasionally been encountered as well.

Relation to architecture chamber tombs

One would assume that a chamber tomb with a larger number of loculi, would house more burials. However, as stated above some loculi did not contain a deposition.[414] Furthermore, chamber tombs that were not equipped with loculi could still contain several burials; in these tombs the deceased individuals were simply placed on the floor of the chamber. The presence or absence of loculi is therefore not necessarily indicative of a larger or smaller number of

413 The analysis of the number of depositions in the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs is based on the following tombs: CG/T001, CG/T005, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T110, MDB/T132, MDB/T187, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T219, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T280, MDB/T287 and MDB/T321. Note that all tombs mentioned in this list form part of the sample of 'late' tombs used for the analyses of the decreasing funerary wealth.

414 See table 3.6. There could be various explanations for the fact that these loculi were empty. The skeletal remains may not have been preserved or rolled out of the loculus, resulting in a seemingly empty sepulchral niche. It is also possible that the loculus had been cut out for the deposition of a subsequent burial that never took place.

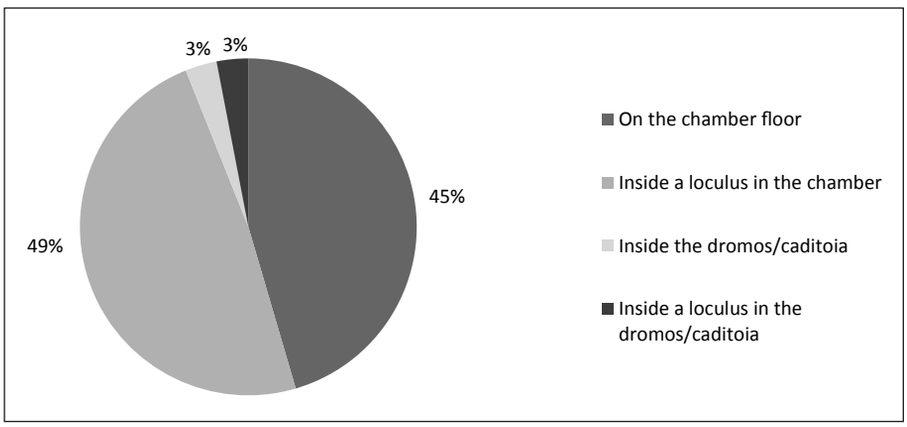


Figure 3.40 Overview of the number of depositions on various locations inside the chamber tombs (in percentages).

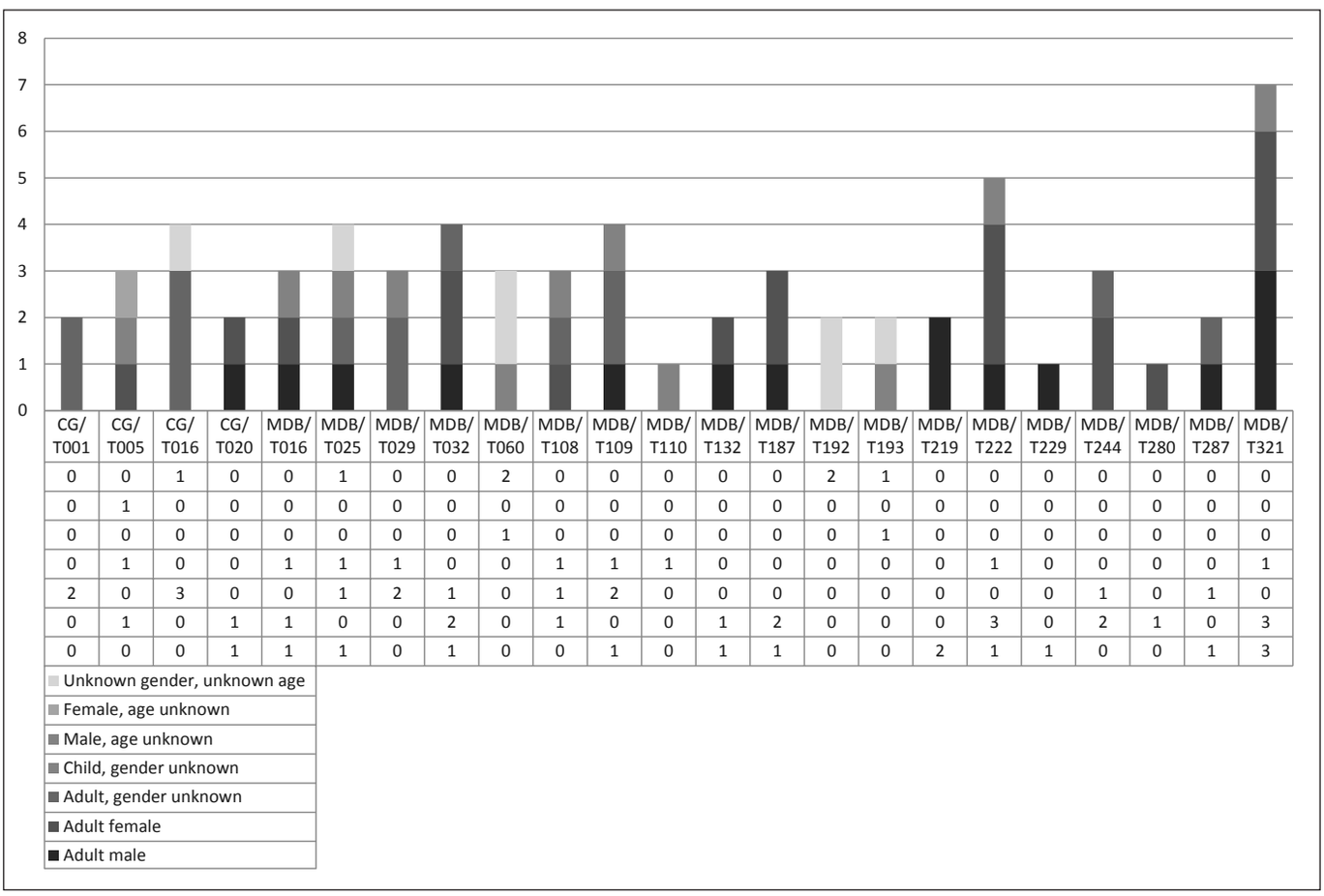


Figure 3.41 Overview of the age and gender distribution in the chamber tombs.

Table 3.6 Overview of the gender, age, skeletal articulation, location and orientation of the depositions in the IVB/ Archaic chamber tombs.

Tomb nr.	Total number of Depositions	Burial Nr.	Male/female/ unknown	Age	Skeletal articulation	On chamber floor	In loculus chamber	In dromos/ caditoia	In loculus dromos/ caditoia	Orientation
CG/T001	2	CG/T001/01	U	20-40	U	x				NW/SE
		CG/T001/02*	U	15-30	U	x				NW/SE
CG/T005	3	CG/T005/01	♀	Adult	P		x			NE/SW
		CG/T005/02	U	6	S?		x			-
		CG/T005/03*	♀	Adult	U	x				SE/NW
CG/T016	4	CG/T016/01	U	Adult	S		x			-
		CG/T016/02	U	Adult	P		x			-
		CG/T016/03	U	Unknown	P		x			-
		CG/T016/04*	U	20-30	P	x				-
CG/T020	2	CG/T020/01	♂	Adult	S	x				NNW/SSE
		CG/T020/02*	♀	Adult	U	x				-
MDB/T016	3	MDB/T016/01	♂	Adult	P	x				ESE/WNW
		MDB/T016/02	♀	Adult	P	x				E/W
		MDB/T016/03*	U	7-10	P	x				-
MDB/T025	4	MDB/T025/01	♂	20-40	-	x				-
		MDB/T025/02	U	Child	P	x				-
		MDB/T025/03	U	Unknown	-	x				-
		MDB/T025/04*	U	Young adult	P	x				-
MDB/T029	3	MDB/T029/01	U	Adult	P		x			E/W
		MDB/T029/02	U	Adult	P	x				-
		MDB/T029/03*	U	4-8	P	x				-
MDB/T032	4	MDB/T032/01	♀	20-40	P	x				WNW/ESE
		MDB/T032/02	U	17-20	S	x				-
		MDB/T032/03	♂	>40	P		x			WNW/ESE
		MDB/T032/04*	♀	>40	S		x			-
MDB/T060	3	MDB/T060/01	♂	-	-	x				-
		MDB/T060/02	U	-	-	x				NNE/SSW
		MDB/T060/03*	U	-	-		x			NNE/SSW
MDB/T108	3	MDB/T108/01	♀	20-40	P		x			SSW/NNE
		MDB/T108/02	U	10	S	x				-
		MDB/T108/03*	U	>18	S			x		-
MDB/T109	4	MDB/T109/01	♂	30-40	P		x			N/S
		MDB/T109/02	U	Adult	P		x			E/W
		MDB/T109/03	U	Adult	P		x			E/W
		MDB/T109/04*	U	6-8	P		x			-

Table 3.6 Overview of the gender, age, skeletal articulation, location and orientation of the depositions in the IVB/ Archaic chamber tombs.

Tomb nr.	Total number of Depositions	Burial Nr.	Male/female/ unknown	Age	Skeletal articulation	On chamber floor	In loculus chamber	In dromos/ caditoia	In loculus dromos/ caditoia	Orientation
MDB/T110	1	MDB/T110/01*	U	8-12	-		x			-
MDB/T132	2	MDB/T132/01	♀	Adult	P		x			NE/SW
		MDB/T132/02*	♂	30-40	P	x				NE/SW
MDB/T187	3	MDB/T187/01	♂	Adult	P		x			NNW/SSE
		MDB/T187/02	♀	20-30	S	x				-
		MDB/T187/03*	♀	Adult	P				x	SSE/NNW
MDB/T192	2	MDB/T192/01	U	-	-		x			S/N
		MDB/T192/02*	U	-	-		x			-
MDB/T193	2	MDB/T193/01	U	-	-		x			NNE/SSW
		MDB/T193/02*	♂	-	-	x				NNE/SSW
MDB/T219	2	MDB/T219/01	♂	Adult	-	x				NE/SW
		MDB/T219/02*	♂	Adult	-	x				-
MDB/T222	5	MDB/T222/01	♂	40-50	P		x			NNE/SSW
		MDB/T222/02	♀	20-30	P		x			NNE/SSW
		MDB/T222/03	♀	16-18	P		x			N/S
		MDB/T222/04	♀	18-20	P	x				SSE/NNW
		MDB/T222/05*	U	4-6	P	x				-
MDB/T229	1	MDB/T229/01*	♂	20-30	P		x			N/S
MDB/T244	3	MDB/T244/01	U	45-50	S	x				-
		MDB/T244/02	♀	Adult	S	x				-
		MDB/T244/03*	♀	20-30	P		x			W/E
MDB/T280	1	MDB/T280/01*	♀	18-25	P	x				-
MDB/T287	2	MDB/T287/01	♂	40-50	P		x[1]			NW/SE
		MDB/T287/02*	U	Adult	U			x		-
MDB/T321	7	MDB/T321/01	♀	40-50	S		x			NW/SE
		MDB/T321/02	♀	40-50	P		x			NW/SE
		MDB/T321/03	♀	40-50	P		x			NE/SW
		MDB/T321/04	♂	30-40	P		x			NW/SE
		MDB/T321/05	U	4-6	U		x			-
		MDB/T321/06	♂	20-30	P		x			NW/SE
		MDB/T321/07*	♂	> 40	P				x	NW/SE
Depositions total	66					30	32	2	2	
Percentage	100%					45.5%	48.5%	3%	3%	

[1] Note that MDB/T287/01 is actually deposited on top of a bench inside the chamber, and not inside a loculus.

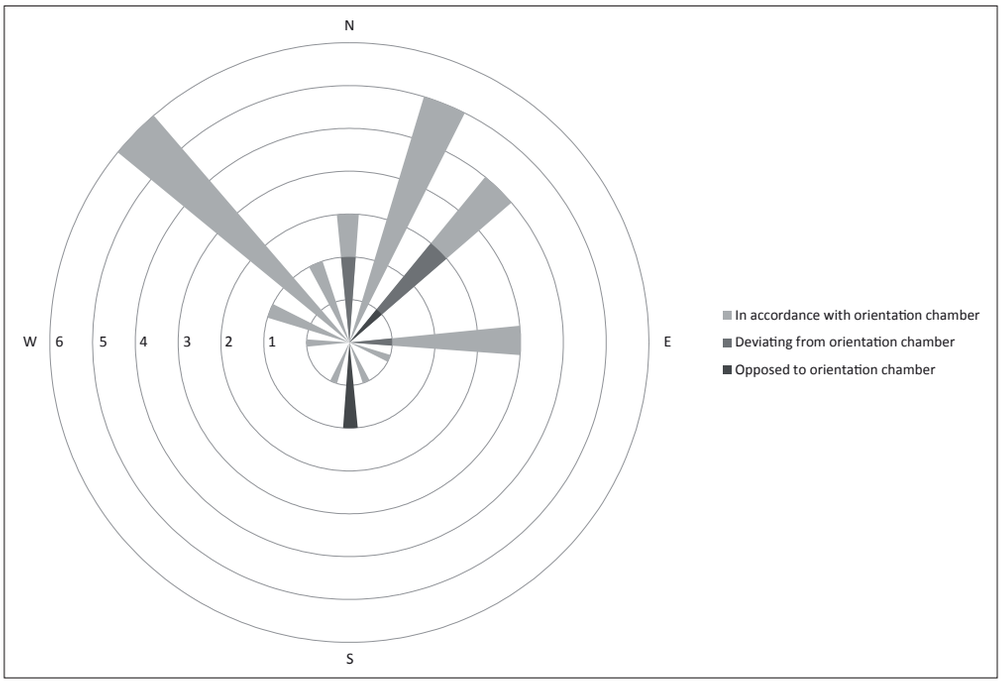


Figure 3.42 Overview of the orientation of depositions in chamber tombs (in accordance with, deviating from or opposed to the orientation of the chamber).

depositions in the chamber tomb,[415] but the highest numbers of burials have so far been encountered in chamber tombs with three loculi.

Age and gender distribution in the chamber tombs

Figure 3.41 gives an overview of the distribution of age and gender over the chamber tombs. Almost all individuals buried in the chamber tombs that contained only one deposition were adults; only MDB/T110 contained a child. Two of these single burials were male, one was female and one is of unknown sex.

There are six chamber tombs containing 2 depositions. All individuals buried inside these tombs were presumably adult individuals. Since the sex of the buried individuals could not be determined for all depositions inside these tombs, it is not possible to provide a complete overview of the distribution of the sexes over these tombs. However, the tombs that do provide us with information about the sex of the depositions buried inside them show that these tombs could either contain a man and a woman, or two men.

There are seven tombs containing three depositions. Unfortunately, information regarding the age is not available for all individuals buried inside these tombs, but a general overview of the distribution of age classes indicates that most tombs contained two adults and one child and that a few contained only adult burials. The definition of the sex of the buried individuals inside these tombs proved somewhat problematic as well. An overview of the burials that do provide information indicates that the distribution of the sexes over the chamber tombs with three depositions was very varied.

There are four chamber tombs containing four depositions. The information regarding the age (or age class) of the individuals buried inside these tombs is quite complete. Two of the chambers contained only adult individuals, and two chambers contained (at least) one child burial. The lack of sexed depositions inside these tombs does not permit any statement about the distribution of the sex classes over these tombs.

There is one chamber tomb that contained five depositions; three adult females, one adult male and one child. There is one chamber tomb containing seven depositions, three adult females, three adult males, and one child.

Due to the fact that very few tombs have yielded datable objects, it is difficult to order the chamber tombs into a chronological sequence and to investigate how the number of depositions inside the chamber tombs changed through time. The general impression is, however, that the first chamber tombs

415 The following overview refers solely to the depositions that were encountered *inside* the (loculi in the) chambers themselves, leaving out all burials encountered in (a niche/loculus in) the caditoia or dromos.

Chamber tombs without loculi house between 1 and 4 depositions (CG/T001: (at least) 2, CG/T020: 2, MDB/T016: 3, MDB/T025: 4, MDB/T219: 2, MDB/T280: 1, MDB/T280: 2, MDB/T287: 1 (the chamber was however equipped with a bench on which the deposition was placed) and MDB/T298: 1). Chamber tombs with 1 loculus house between 1 and 3 depositions (CG/T005: 3, MDB/T029: 3, MDB/T060: 3, MDB/T108: 2, MDB/T110: 1, MDB/T132: 2, MDB/T187: 2, MDB/T193: 2, MDB/T229: 1); chamber tombs with 2 loculi house 2 to 4 depositions (CG/T016: 4, MDB/T032: 4, MDB/T109: 4, MDB/T192: 2, MDB/T244: 3); chambers with 3 loculi contain 5 or 7 depositions (MDB/T222: 5, MDB/T321: 7).

Table 3.7 Table of the orientation of depositions in chamber tombs (in accordance with, deviating from or opposed to the orientation of the chamber).

Orientation	In accordance with orientation chamber	Deviating from orientation chamber	Opposed to orientation chamber
N	MDB/T229/01*	MDB/T109/01 MDB/T222/03	
NNE	MDB/T029/02 MDB/T029/03* MDB/T060/01 MDB/T060/02 MDB/T060/03* MDB/T192/01 MDB/T192/02* MDB/T222/01 MDB/T222/02		
NE	MDB/T132/01 MDB/T132/02*	CG/T005/01 MDB/T321/03	MDB/ T193/01
ENE			
E	MDB/T016/02 MDB/T109/02 MDB/T109/03	MDB/T029/01	
ESE	MDB/T016/01 MDB/T016/03*		
SE			
SSE			MDB/ T187/03* MDB/ T222/04
S		MDB/T190/01	
SSW	MDB/T108/01		
SW			
WSW			
W	MDB/T025/04* MDB/T244/03*		
WNW	MDB/T025/02 MDB/T032/01 MDB/T032/03 MDB/T280/01*		
NW	CG/T001/01 CG/T001/02* MDB/T287/01 MDB/T321/01 MDB/T321/02 MDB/T321/04 MDB/T321/06 MDB/T321/07*		
NNW	CG/T020/01 MDB/T187/01		

were designed to hold only one or two burials,[416] whereas the latest examples could house up to seven deceased individuals, possibly indicating a shift from the nuclear to the more extended family.

Orientation of depositions

The introduction of the chamber tomb at the burial grounds of Crustumerium did not only enable multiple depositions inside a single tomb, it also allowed for more variation in the orientation of the individual burials. The depositions inside the fossa and loculus tombs of Latial period IIB, III and IVA were, almost without exception, directed towards the northern hemisphere.[417] Since these tombs generally contain only one burial, and because that burial is used as a reference point, the orientation of the deceased equals that of the tomb as a whole. This mechanism does, however, not (completely) apply to the depositions in the chamber tombs as will be elucidated in the following.

The orientation of the depositions inside the chamber tombs varies greatly,[418] but when compared to the variation in orientation of the chambers proper, one finds that in 80% of the cases, the direction of the depositions inside the tombs coincides with the direction of the tomb as a whole (see fig. 3.42 and table 3.7).[419] Individuals buried inside a loculus opposite the entrance of the chamber naturally have a deviating orientation. Depositions with an orientation

416 Examples of these earlier dating chamber tombs are MDB/T190, MDB/T298 (see the Tomb Catalogue) and MDB/T302 (see Belelli Marchesini 2011).

417 See fig. 3.22.

418 In total, 49 chamber tombs have been identified at Crustumerium, containing at least 71 depositions. We have detailed information regarding the orientation of 44 depositions originating from 22 different tombs (MDB/T016, MDB/T025, MDB/T029, MDB/T032, MDB/T060, MDB/T108, MDB/T109, MDB/T132, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T192, MDB/T193, MDB/T222, MDB/T229, MDB/T244, MDB/T280, MDB/T287, MDB/T298, MDB/T321, CG/T001, CG/T005 and CG/T020).

The orientation of the following depositions could not be determined: CG/T005/02, CG/T005/03*, CG/T015/01, CG/T016/01, CG/T016/02, CG/T016/03, CG/T016/04*, CG/T020/02*, MDB/T025/01, MDB/T025/03, MDB/T032/02, MDB/T032/04*, MDB/T108/02, MDB/T108/03*, MDB/T109/04*, MDB/T110/01*, MDB/T187/02, MDB/T190/02, MDB/T193/02*, MDB/T219/01, MDB/T219/02*, MDB/T222/05*, MDB/T244/01, MDB/T244/02, MDB/T287/02* and MDB/T321/05.

419 Note that only those depositions of which the orientation differs not more than 22.5° degrees from the orientation of the tomb as a whole have been included in this overview.

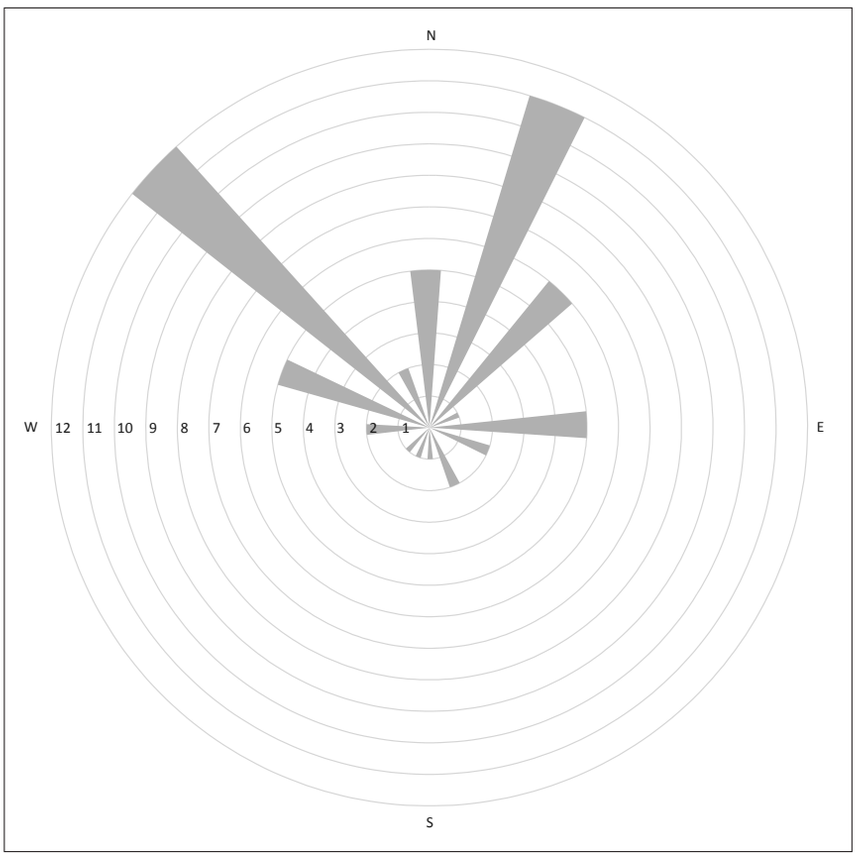


Figure 3.43 Overview of the orientations of the IVB/Archaic depositions.

opposite to that of the chamber tomb itself, i.e. with the head towards the entrance, are extremely rare.

A combined overview of *all*[420] depositions encountered inside both the chamber tombs and the other tomb types used in the IVB/Archaic period reveals that people could be buried with their head pointing to every possible direction (see fig. 3.43 and table 3.8). However, the orientation of the 'late' depositions should not be regarded as completely random; 86% of the burials is directed more or less towards the northern hemisphere[421] and only 14% is directed southwards.

3.5.2 Secondary deposition

The practice of secondary deposition appeared at Crustumerium around the beginning of Latial period IVB.[422] Secondarily manipulated burials have been found both in Cisterna Grande and at the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground. So far, there are

420 Only those depositions that provide us with detailed information regarding their orientation have been taken into account; fig. 3.43 and table 3.8 incorporate 56 out of a total of 84 IVB/Archaic depositions.

421 The northern hemisphere is defined here as consisting of all directions from W (270°) to E (90°).

422 See Chapter 2, *The skeletal articulation* on the difference between secondary *deposition* and secondary *burial*.

Table 3.8 Table of orientations of IVB/Archaic depositions.

Orientation	Deposition
N	MDB/T109/01 MDB/T222/03 MDB/T229/01* MDB/T320/01* SB/T022/01*
NNE	MDB/T029/02 MDB/T029/03* MDB/T060/01 MDB/T060/02 MDB/T060/03* MDB/T192/01 MDB/T192/02* MDB/T206/01* MDB/T211/01* MDB/T222/01 MDB/T222/02
NE	CG/T005/01 MDB/T132/01 MDB/T132/02* MDB/T168/01* MDB/T193/01 MDB/T321/03
ENE	MDB/T313/01*
E	MDB/T016/02 MDB/T029/01 MDB/T109/02 MDB/T109/03 MDB/T207/01*
ESE	MDB/T016/01 MDB/T016/03*
SE	
SSE	MDB/T187/03* MDB/T222/04
S	MDB/T190/01
SSW	MDB/T108/01
SW	MDB/T274/01*
WSW	
W	MDB/T025/04* MDB/T244/03*
WNW	MDB/T025/02 MDB/T032/01 MDB/T032/03 MDB/T280/01* MDB/T290/01*
NW	CG/T001/01 CG/T001/02* MDB/T254/01* MDB/T257/01 MDB/T282/01* MDB/T287/01 MDB/T288/01* MDB/T321/01 MDB/T321/02 MDB/T321/04 MDB/T321/06 MDB/T321/07*
NNW	CG/T020/01 MDB/T187/01

Figure 3.44 Secondary deposition in the right loculus of MDB/T032 (photo GIA).

four examples at Cisterna Grande.[423] At Monte Del Bufalo there are eight tombs containing secondary depositions,[424] three of which hold more than one secondary deposition.[425]

There is only one example of a secondary deposition inside a fossa tomb (a tipo Narce);[426] all other examples were encountered in chamber tombs.[427] The secondary depositions are most frequently found inside a loculus (see fig. 3.44),[428] or on the floor of the chamber,[429] but there are have examples of secondary depositions inside the dromoi as well.[430]

Most of the secondarily manipulated depositions concern the skeletal remains of a primary burial that had simply been pushed aside to make way for the placement of a new deposition, that is, after the decomposition of the body. The secondarily deposited skeletal material inside the loculi is either pushed towards the back wall,[431] or towards the feet end of the loculus.[432] Secondarily manipulated individuals are found either as a more or less articulated body,[433] or piled up.[434] These individuals may have been taken out of the loculi of the chamber, or moved from another location inside the chamber. In a few instances, only very little has remained of the secondarily manipulated individuals, not allowing for a reconstruction of their original location in the tomb.[435]

Three secondarily manipulated depositions may represent actual secondary *burials*: the deposition inside the chamber of CG/T015 and the one in the dromos of MDB/T190 were both covered with a pile of tuff stones; the secondary deposition inside the chamber of MDB/T187 had been covered up with tiles.[436]

A personal object has been found in the vicinity of some of the secondarily manipulated depositions,[437] but it is very probable that these objects had been buried with the corpse at the time of the primary burial. When the skeletal remains of these burials were moved later on, the objects were probably moved along with them. MDB/T190/02 is the only deposition that was accompanied by a banqueting vessel;[438] a small olletta was placed on top of the tuff stones that covered the skeletal remains, possibly indicating that an expiation rite had been performed.

3.5.3 Cremation

There is evidence for cremation burials at Monte Del Bufalo during the first Latial periods.[439]

There are only two examples of tombs containing cremation burials dating to the IVB/Archaic period; one at Monte Del Bufalo and one at Cisterna

423 CG/T015 (see Rajala 2010, 45), CG/T020. Rajala mentions two other examples of secondary depositions: "Two *loculi* in different chambers in different chamber tomb types were found to have more than one deceased in them" (Rajala 2010, 45). One of these tombs is CG/T016 (Rajala in press); the other tomb number is unknown.

424 MDB/T032, MDB/T108, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T244, MDB/T257, MDB/T287 and MDB/T321.

425 MDB/T032, MDB/T190 and MDB/T244.

426 MDB/T257.

427 CG/T015, CG/T016, CG/T020, MDB/T032, MDB/T187, MDB/T190, MDB/T244 and MDB/T321.

428 In these cases the skeletal material is either pushed towards the back wall, or heaped up on the foot end (CG/T016, MDB/T032, MDB/T257 and MDB/T321).

429 CG/T015, CG/T020, MDB/T032, MDB/T108, MDB/T187 and MDB/T244.

430 In MDB/T108, MDB/T190 and MDB/T287. Note that the dromos of both MDB/T108 and MDB/T287 yielded only very little skeletal material, suggesting that secondary burial (or at the least the removal of a primary burial) had taken place. However, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that these two examples actually represent stray finds.

431 MDB/T257/02* and MDB/T321/01.

432 MDB/T032/04*.

433 MDB/T244/01, which had probably been taken out of the loculus.

434 CG/T015/01, MDB/T187/02 (probably originally buried the loculus of the chamber) and MDB/T244/02 (possibly contained in a wooden box), all found inside the chamber. MDB/T190/02 consists of a pile of skeletal material that was buried in the dromos.

435 MDB/T032/02 (consisting of part of a jaw, found on the floor of the chamber), MDB/T108/02 (consisting of a few teeth found on the chamber floor), MDB/T108/03* (consisting of a femur fragment, found in the dromos),

436 Regarding the secondary burial inside CG/T015, Rajala states that the bones were deposited in a specific order, starting with the skull, followed by the ribs and finally the long bones (Rajala 2010, 45).

437 CG/T020/02* was accompanied by a fibula, a lance point and a spade. An aryballos and a pyxis surfaced near MDB/T244/01, possibly pertaining to this burial. MDB/T257/02* was buried with an iron ring. MDB/T321/01 was accompanied by a bronze fermatrecce.

438 See the section *Banqueting set* on the problematics adhered to the term 'banqueting vessel'.

439 See Chapter 1, *1.2.5 Monte Del Bufalo*.

Figure 3.45 Tuff urn in the chamber of MDB/T025 (courtesy of the SSBAR).

Grande.[440] The cremation burial of CG/T020 was found inside a tuff house-shaped urn, placed on the floor of the chamber, against the back wall. The cremated individual was an adult female, not accompanied by any funerary gift.

MDB/T025 contained the cremated remains of two individuals; one inside a tuff house-shaped urn placed on the floor of the chamber, against the back wall, and one right behind the urn (see fig. 3.45). Unfortunately, the contents of the urn have not been analysed, but the cremated individual was apparently buried with a number of bronze objects. The remains right behind the urn, on the floor of the chamber, pertained to an adult male, not accompanied by any funerary gifts.

Both tombs cited here were not solely used for the burial of cremations; CG/T020 yielded one inhumation, deposited on the floor of the chamber and MDB/T025 held two inhumations, both placed on the floor of the chamber as well.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has listed the changes in the burial customs at Crustumerium during Latial period IVB and the Archaic period. It has looked at the alterations that occurred in the four mortuary domains, namely the grave construction, the placement in the burial ground, the grave goods and the body.

The first section of this chapter has dealt with the changes in the grave construction, highlighting the alterations in the traditional tomb types and the introduction of completely new types. The traditional tombs types were simplified in terms of their architectonic lay-out and reduced in terms of their dimensions. Not only were the later examples of the traditional types considerably smaller, the individual elements of the tombs, such as the loculi, were being reduced and simplified as well.

It has been suggested that the tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period were considerably shallower than their IVA predecessors. However, a case study of the tomb depths at the Fossato Area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground has shown that the tomb depth of the various architectonic types was quite consistent and differed little between the two periods. Only the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs were significantly shallower than the loculus tombs dating to Latial period IVA.

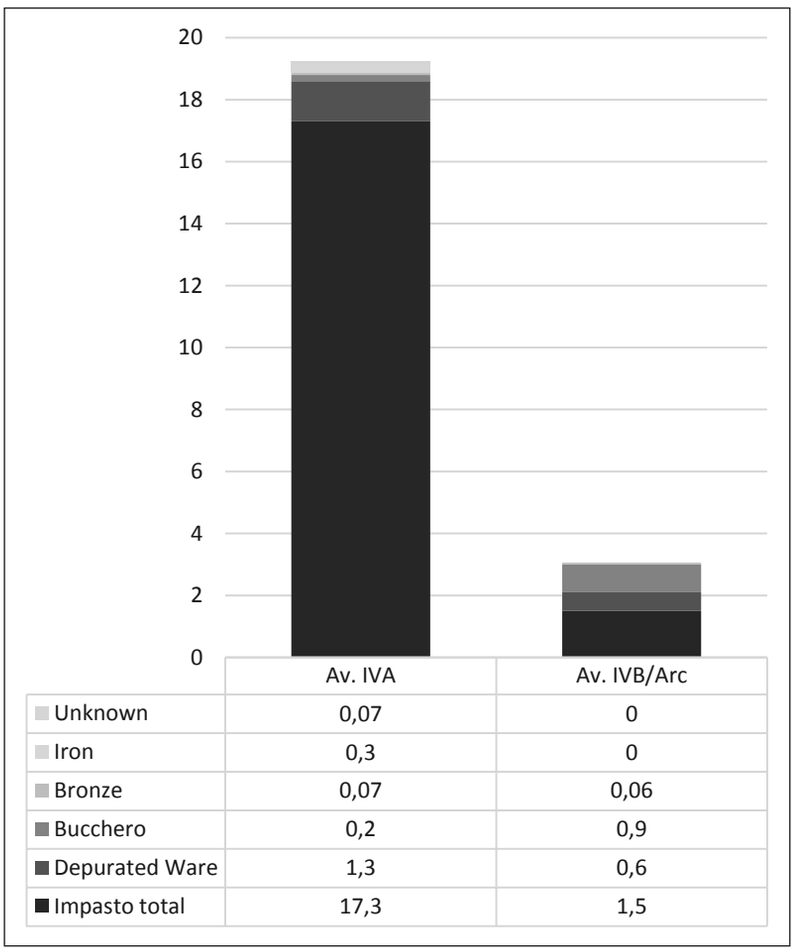
The alterations in the funerary architecture stretched further than the tomb itself, since the closing systems inside the tombs changed as well; both the execution of the systems and the quality of the closing blocks decreased quite dramatically. The monumental closing slabs of the previous phase no longer occurred and the closing walls were now built up from various different tuff types, often including re-used materials. The fact that various different ways of closing a loculus could occur within one single chamber tomb, suggests that the choice for a certain closing system was not necessarily chronologically determined.

The section has further described the introduction of two new tombs types, the *tomba a tipo Monte Michele* and the chamber tomb. The *dromoi* with which both new tomb types were being equipped constituted an innovative element, being considerably longer than the shafts of the traditional tombs. In addition, the large space inside the chambers allowed for the deposition of multiple burials, a practice that had previously occurred only sporadically. The chamber tomb quickly gained popularity during the IVB/Archaic period.

It should be stressed that most of the observations cited in this chapter are based on a relatively small sample of tombs, originating from only one burial ground, namely Monte Del Bufalo, and that a comparison with tombs pertaining to the previous phase is hindered by the limited availability of data refarding this period. However, the reduction of the traditional architecture in terms of size and execution during the IVB/Archaic period is a very clear trend, as is the increasing number of multi-depositional tombs.

The analysis of the spatial characteristics of the tombs has revealed that the IVB/Archaic tombs were nested within the existing distribution of tombs at the northern and southern part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground and at Sasso Bianco. Clearly defined, spatially distinct clusters of late tombs have not been

440 CG/T020 and MDB/T025.



	Av. IVA	Av. IVB/Arc
Unknown	0,07	0
Iron	0,3	0
Bronze	0,07	0,06
Bucchero	0,2	0,9
Depurated Ware	1,3	0,6
Impasto total	17,3	1,5

Figure 3.46a Overview of the average number of objects per ware type in IVA and IVB/Archaic tombs in absolute numbers.

identified, except perhaps at Cisterna Grande, where earlier tombs hardly occur.

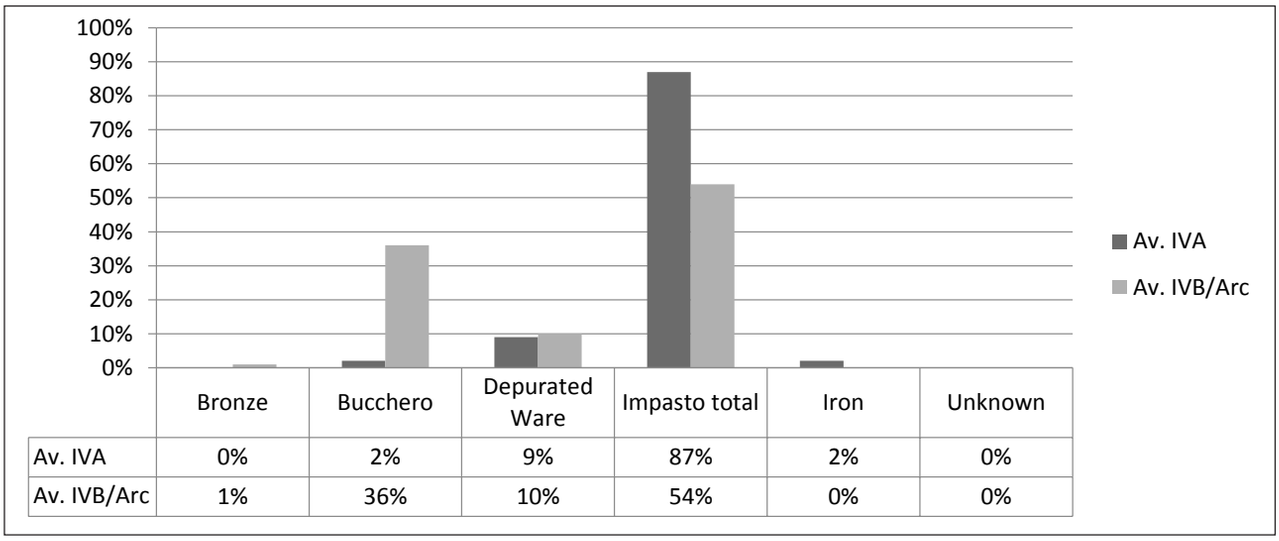
The analysis has shown that many of the tombs pertaining to the IVB/Archaic period have a direct physical relation with (older) tombs in their vicinity; they often intersect or (partially) overlap existing tomb structures. This phenomenon has been attested most frequently in the chamber tombs; the fossa and loculus tombs of the IVB/Archaic period do not very often interfere with existing tomb structures.[441] However, not all tombs have a direct physical relation to the tombs in their vicinity, and the practice has not been attested at all at the Cisterna Grande burial ground.

The inventory of the various funerary areas has revealed that the variation in the orientation of the tombs pertaining to the IVB/Archaic period was considerably larger than that of the tombs dating to the previous periods. The variation was most notable for the chamber tombs, both in the northern and in the southern part of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, possibly because an attempt was made to fit these large grave constructions into the existing distribution of tombs, adapting the orientation of the tomb according to the space available for the creation of the grave. However, the fact that the orientation of the chamber tombs on the Cisterna Grande hill was equally varied, whereas hardly any older grave constructions were present at that location, may indicate that the wide range in the orientation of the chamber tombs was not (only) due to a strong desire for the clustering of tombs. A study of the tomb depths at the Fossato Area has demonstrated that tombs which were located close to one another often had a very comparable depth, regardless of their chronology or architectonic lay-out.

Taking all the spatial characteristics of the late tombs into account, one finds that, although they sometimes intersect or overlap with older tombs, they generally seem to respect the existing distribution. Their close vicinity to older tombs and the fact that their depths are often comparable to those of the older ones does suggest intentionality of their spatial lay-out.

The burial grounds of Sasso Bianco and Cisterna Grande have, unfortunately, not been investigated as intensively as Monte Del Bufalo. One should

441 Note, however, that fossa tombs and loculus tombs pertaining to this period are not as numerous as the chamber tombs. In addition, intersection was probably less likely to happen, taking the limited size of the tomb structures into account.



	Bronze	Bucchero	Depurated Ware	Impasto total	Iron	Unknown
Av. IVA	0%	2%	9%	87%	2%	0%
Av. IVB/Arc	1%	36%	10%	54%	0%	0%

Figure 3.46b Overview of the average number of objects per ware type in IVA and IVB/Archaic tombs in percentages (of the complete banqueting sets).

therefore keep in mind that the observations regarding the placement in the burial ground are mainly based on the characteristics of the latter burial ground and may not entirely apply to the situation at the other two. Further research at Sasso Bianco and Cisterna Grande could shed light on the validity of the observations presented here and on the (dis) similarity between the three burial grounds.

The chapter has further dealt with the decreasing funerary wealth, setting in around the end of the 7th century BC, looking at two separate categories; the objects pertaining to the banqueting set and the personal objects. The analysis has shown that the amount of banqueting vessels deposited in the tombs dwindled very drastically in the IVB/Archaic period. The large functional and material diversity of the earlier assemblages could naturally no longer be maintained in the later sets, since they consisted of a limited number of items. The share of items of bucchero and depurated ware is significantly larger in the IVB/Archaic tombs, whereas the share of impasto vessels had become smaller (see fig. 3.46a and 3.46b).

Of the functional classes identified in the earlier phase, only drinking and storing/pouring liquids still occur quite frequently among the assemblages of the later tombs. Vessels related to eating and covering and storing food were very rarely being deposited in the late tombs (see fig. 3.47). The altered composition of the banqueting sets in the IVB/Archaic period is possibly indicative of a change in the funerary ritual; instead of holding a banquet, the deceased may have been honoured with a drinking ceremony (or *circumpotatio* ritual) that did not involve eating.

Not only the amount of vessels altered, but so did the location of the banqueting sets inside the tombs. Whereas the assemblages in the IVA tombs had always been placed in close vicinity to the deceased (mostly at its head end), the vessels in the later chamber tombs had a far less clear relation to the buried individual, being often placed in the chamber itself and only rarely in the loculus where the deceased was located.

Just as the number of vessels of the banqueting sets, the number of objects pertaining to the personal assemblages dwindled. First of all, the amount of personal *ornamental* objects dwindled from an average of 4 to only 0.5 per deposition in the later tombs. Although the materials used for the ornaments are quite comparable to those of the previous period, the diversity in the types of objects that were being deposited with the deceased was somewhat smaller. An even more apparent difference lies in the number of people buried with an ornamental object; of the IVA depositions studied in the sample, 76% was accompanied by at least one ornament, whereas at least 52% of the depositions in the later tombs was certainly *not* buried with an ornamental item.

A similar pattern emerges from the study of the personal *functional* objects. The IVA tombs yielded items pertaining to the categories fighting/defence, *unguentaria* and spinning/weaving. 76% of the depositions in the studied sample were accompanied by one or more functional objects. In the later period, very few tombs contained items from the spinning/weaving category and the overall number of individuals accompanied by a functional object was far lower as well; at least 46% was certainly *not* buried with a functional object. Although items related to fighting/defence still occur quite frequently in the later period, only 38% of the (identified) men were buried with a weapon, as opposed to 100% in the earlier period.

As regards gender patterns in both periods, it has been shown that female individuals were usually

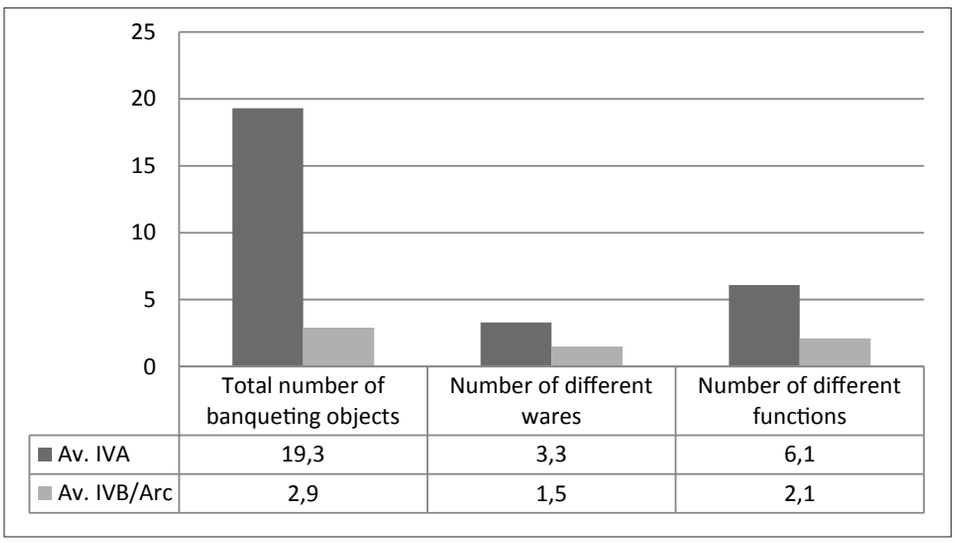


Figure 3.47 Comparison of IVA and IVB/Archaic banqueting sets (specifying the average total number of objects, the average number of different functions and the average number of different ceramic wares).

buried with multiple ornamental objects and only a few functional ones in Latial period IVA, whereas men were often buried with only one ornament and a few functional objects (usually weapons). In the later period, the difference in the accompanying set of personal items is less apparent. As a rule, men were still being buried with more functional objects and women with more ornamental objects, but the difference between the amounts of objects deposited with males and females is a lot smaller.

One should note that the gender determination of the deceased is frequently based on the accompanying objects, rather than on the skeletal material, since the latter has often been very poorly preserved or not preserved at all.[442] The (almost complete) absence of personal objects in the later graves often impedes a determination of the sex of the individuals buried inside them. The patterns described above may therefore differ slightly from the actual situation in the IVB/Archaic period and should thus be regarded with some caution.

Unfortunately, the sample of IVA tombs that has been used to compare the later tombs with is rather small; it consists of tombs excavated by the GIA and a few additional, published tombs investigated by the SSBAR. Only those tombs of which a reasonable amount of information is available have been incorporated in the sample. The incorporation of a larger number of tombs dating to this period, and from more diverse areas of the burial grounds would surely yield a more nuanced picture of the banqueting sets, and would lessen the biasing effect of very wealthy tombs on the average amounts of both the personal objects and the banqueting vessels.

The study of the later tombs is somewhat problematic as well, since many of the tombs dating to this period are chamber tombs that housed multiple depositions. Due to the poor preservation of the archaeological remains and the sometimes adverse excavating conditions, it is often impossible to attribute the objects found inside such tombs to a specific burial. The total numbers of objects found inside a tomb, as presented in the overview above, may obscure the differential treatment the individuals had received at their funeral. However, the incorporation of general information regarding the contents of the late tombs (such as the total number of objects per tomb and the average number per deposition) does enable us to study the general development in the practice of gift-giving in this period.

It should further be stressed that the study of the decreasing funerary wealth presented here, is for the most part based on data from the Monte Del Bufalo funerary area, since the number of tombs investigated at the burial grounds of Cisterna Grande and Sasso Bianco is quite small. Although the three burial grounds seem to go through a very comparable development, the local variations may have been obscured due to the focus on the Monte Del Bufalo area. Further research on the other two burial

442 The analysis of the personal objects in the IVA tombs is based on a sample of 21 individuals. The sex of 18 of these individuals was based on the accompanying personal objects, in nine cases supported by a physical anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains. None of the sex determinations was based solely on the physical anthropological analysis. The sex of 3 individuals could not be established.
The analysis of the personal objects in the IVB/Archaic tombs is based on a sample of 84 individuals. The sex of 18 of these individuals was based on the accompanying personal objects, in 12 cases supported by a physical anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains. In 31 cases, the sex determination was based solely on the physical anthropological analysis. The sex of 35 individuals could not be established.

grounds will certainly shed more light on their specific (local) characteristics.

The analyses presented here have been mostly focussed on the quantitative characteristics of the tomb contents, looking at the amounts of vessels, objects and ornaments. A more in depth study of the qualitative aspects of the objects could yield more valuable data and possibly also other significant patterns. One may, for example, wonder whether the number of vessels forming part of the banqueting set is really very significant, and whether importance may instead have been adhered to the materials used for their production or to the contents of the vessels as they were being deposited inside the grave. Also, many items of perishable material may have been deposited inside the graves, leaving no archaeological trace whatsoever and as such possibly biasing our understanding of the actual funerary ritual. However, the varying preservation of the tombs, the different methods used for their excavation and the sometimes limited availability of detailed information called for a quantitative instead of a qualitative approach.

The last section of this chapter has dealt with the appearance of a number of new practices introduced during the last period the burial grounds of Crustumerium were in use, namely multiple burials inside a single tomb, secondary deposition and cremation.

Although there are a few examples of traditional tomb types containing more than one burial, the practice of depositing multiple individuals inside a single tomb occurred predominantly in the chamber tombs, which could house up to seven burials. The distribution of gender and age groups over these tombs does not yield a clear pattern; men, women, children, adults and elderly occur in varying numbers inside the chambers.

The inventory of the orientation of the depositions buried inside the late tombs, has demonstrated that the previous predilection for the NNE to ENE had been abandoned, and that although most of the late depositions were still directed towards the northern hemisphere, their orientation was much more varied. A practice that is related to the deposition of multiple individuals inside a single tomb is secondary deposition, again most frequently attested in chamber tombs. Most of the secondarily buried skeletal remains had been simply pushed to one side, but there are also a few examples of piled up bones, covered by tiles or tuff stones. Only in one instance had the secondarily buried skeletal remains been accompanied by a vessel. Occasionally, personal (ornamental) objects have been found among the secondarily buried skeletal remains.

Cremation burials have been encountered in two chamber tombs, at Monte Del Bufalo and Cisterna Grande. Two of the three identified cremated individuals had been contained inside a house-shaped urn; one cremation burial was found on the floor of the chamber.

The number of cremation burials identified so far is very small. However, one may presume that many cremated remains have not survived to the present day due to the adverse preservation conditions of the soil and have thus been overlooked in the archaeological investigations, suggesting that the practice occurred more frequently than recorded to date.

More or less the same thing may apply to the number of secondarily buried individuals; the secondary character of the burials is not always easily recognisable in the field. Since a physical anthropologist has not always been present during the many excavations executed at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, it is very well possible that secondary deposition occurred somewhat more frequently than the present analysis suggests.

The on-going investigations at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have yielded a valuable dataset that, combined with personal field observations collected during the GIA campaigns, has enabled a detailed analysis of the way the funerary customs changed throughout Latial period IVB and the Archaic period. In order to test whether the developments observed at Crustumerium are mostly site-specific, or whether they are instead indicative of the changes that occurred in the region at large, Chapter 4 aims at placing the noted changes into a wider perspective.

4

REGIONAL PARALLELS FOR A CHANGING FUNERARY RITUAL

The present chapter studies how the alterations in the burial customs of Crustumerium described in Chapter 3 relate to the funerary rituals elsewhere in Central Italy[443] and aims at placing the site in a wider regional perspective. The chapter will investigate whether the altered burial customs observed at Crustumerium should be considered as a site-specific phenomenon, or rather as exemplary of the changing funerary rite in the wider region.

Since the site is located in the northernmost area of Latium Vetus and because we know that its material culture displays various characteristics of the neighbouring regions,[444] the chapter does not only inventory Latial parallels, but looks at examples from Southern Etruria,[445] the Faliscan and the Sabina area as well, focussing on the late 7th and full 6th century BC.

The chapter zooms in on the four most important aspects of change inventoried in Chapter 4, being the funerary architecture, the spatial characteristics of the tombs, the funerary wealth and the introduction of new burial practices. It will be found that many of the changes that have been observed at Crustumerium occurred on other burial grounds as well and that the alterations in the burial rites were not exclusive to Latium Vetus either. Although there are many local variations and exceptions to the rule, it is possible to discern a few general trends. Not only do we see an overall reduction of the funerary wealth from the end of the 7th century onwards, we can also detect a development towards an increasing size of the funerary monuments in the whole of Central Italy, enabling the deposition of multiple burials inside a single tomb.

While the current chapter aims at a comparison between the burial customs of Crustumerium and those at other sites in the region, Chapter 5 will offer explanatory suggestions for the reason why the burial rituals changed the way they did.

4.1 Grave construction

As has been described in Chapter 4, Crustumerium witnessed the introduction of two new tomb types around the middle of the 7th century BC; the Monte Michele tomb and the chamber tomb. The long entrance ways of both tomb types were innovative, as was the expansive sepulchral space inside the chamber tombs.

The inventory provided below indicates that the introduction of these two tomb types at Crustumerium fits very well in the development towards increasingly spacious funerary monuments that has been observed at various burial grounds in Central Italy during the late 8th and full 7th century BC. Whilst there are hardly any parallels for the Monte Michele tomb type,[446] the chamber tomb has been attested on almost all burial grounds in the region (see fig. 4.1).

The following section presents an overview of the published chamber tombs dating between the 7th and the 5th century BC that have been identified in Latium

443 In the present publication Central Italy is defined as the area that comprises Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria, and the Faliscan and Sabine regions.

444 See for example di Gennaro *et al.* 2002-2003 on the similarities between Crustumerium and Etruria.

445 Southern Etruria is defined here as the region surrounding Veii and bordering the northern limit of Latium Vetus. Therefore, only the burial grounds in the direct vicinity and territory (i.e. Località Volusia) of Veii have been taken into account.

446 The examples of this tomb type found at Crustumerium have been named after the tombs found at the Monte Michele burial ground of Veii, where the type occurs quite frequently (di Gennaro 2007, 164, note 2). There are very few parallels for this tomb type in Central Italy. However, a close look at the published drawings of the so-called chamber tombs at Acqua Acetosa and Casale Massima, suggest that some of them can actually be labelled as Monte Michele tombs.

One example is chamber tomb 2 from Acqua Acetosa, consisting of a long, stepped dromos leading to a small room with a loculus to the right (Bedini 1983, fig. 2; see also note 20). Another example can be found immediately north of the settlement of Acqua Acetosa-Laurentina; a tomb consisting of a dromos furnished with a loculus on the right hand side which was closed off with tuff slabs (Bedini 1983, 36-37, fig. 11; see also note 20). Yet another example can be found at the burial ground of Casale Massima; tomb 2 consists of a dromos with two steps and a loculus to the right, closed off with tiles (Bedini 1983, 34, fig. 9; see also note 21). It is stated that due to the presence of an older, 7th century fossa tomb, it had not been possible to create a proper chamber (Bedini 1983, 34). Based on the similarities with the Monte Michele type, we may alternatively suggest that the creation of a proper chamber was never really intended.

Another possible example of a Monte Michele type tomb is the so-called chamber tomb at Centocelle, consisting of a very small sepulchral room, furnished with a bench (Festuccia & Remotti 2004, fig. 5A).

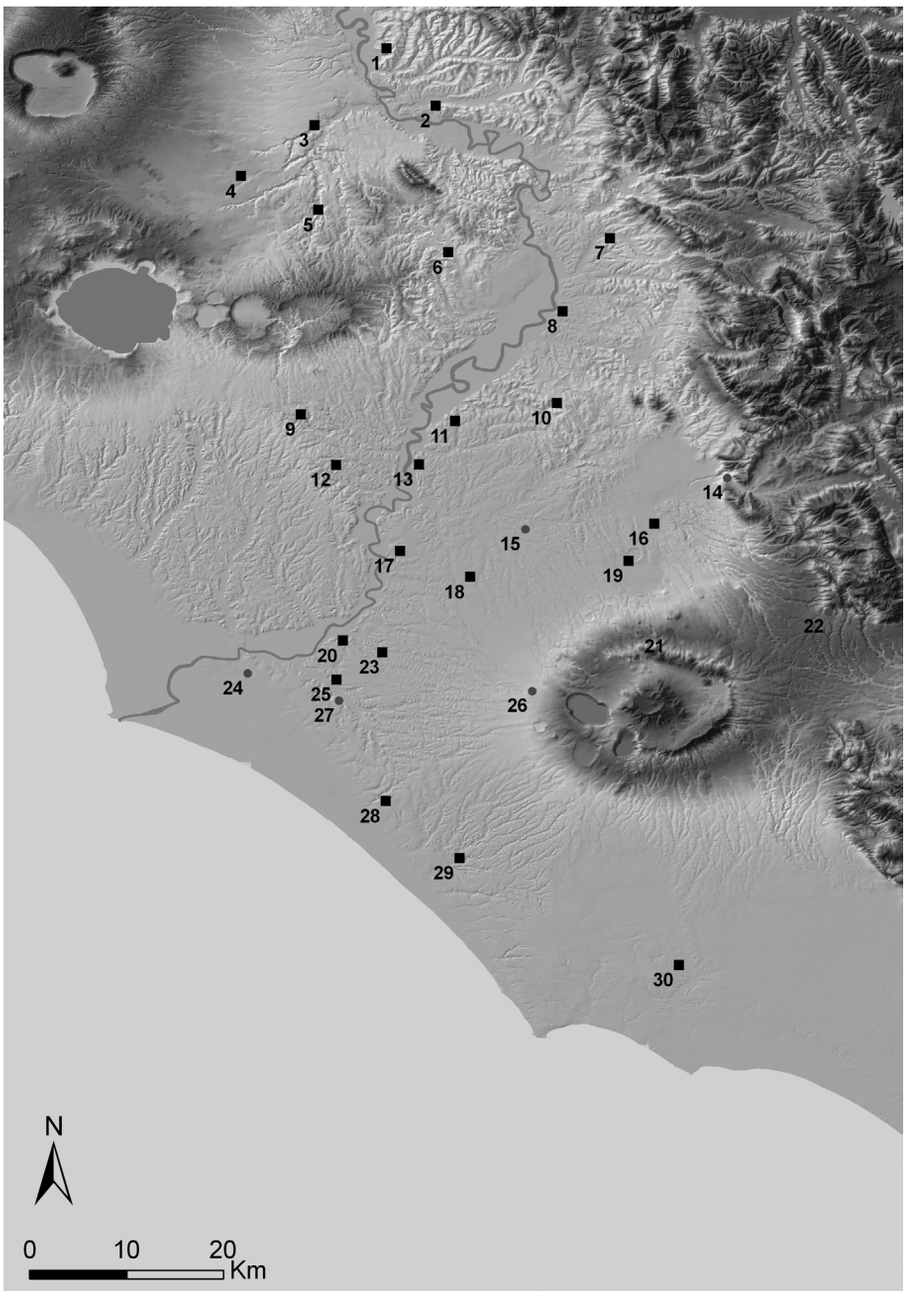


Figure 4.1 Map of Central Italy indicating the locations where chamber tombs have been identified (marked with a black square) (map author).
1: Magliano Sabina, 2: Poggio Sommavilla, 3: Falerii Veteres, 4: Nepi, 5: Narce, 6: Capena, 7: Cures Sabina, 8: Colle del Forno (Eretum), 9: Veii, 10: Nomentum, 11: Crustumerium, 12: Località Volusia, 13: Fidenae, 14: Tivoli, 15: La Rustica, 16: Corcolle, 17: Rome, 18: Centocelle, 19: Osteria dell'Osa, 20: Località Torrino, 21: Colonna, 22: Palestrina, 23: Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), 24: Ficana, 25: Tor de' Cenci, 26: Marino - Riserva del Truglio, 27: Castel di Decima, 28: Lavinium, 29: Ardea, 30: Satricum.

Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region. The section will show that the apparel of the chamber tomb was very variable, but that the development towards increasingly large funerary monuments can be traced on many burial grounds throughout the region.

Chamber tombs in Etruria

Chamber tombs start to appear in Etruria from the end of the 8th century BC onwards.[447] Simple fossa tombs developed into tombs with a lateral loculus,[448]

447 Bartoloni 2003, 63. Only Populonia forms an exception to the rule; the chamber tombs attested at this site date as early as the second half of the 9th century BC (Riva 2010, 111; Bartoloni 2003, 57-60). The reason for the early appearance of chamber tombs at Populonia is debated. The tombs have often been related to Nuragic constructions, but it is argued that the funerary monuments may just as well have had an independent genesis and that their architecture may have mirrored the local contemporary habitation (Bartoloni 2000, 27-33). See for a discussion Bartoloni 2003, 57-63.

448 The *caditoia rettangolare con loculo* (rectangular shaft with loculus) first occurred at Veii around the end of the 8th century BC (Riva 2010, 112).

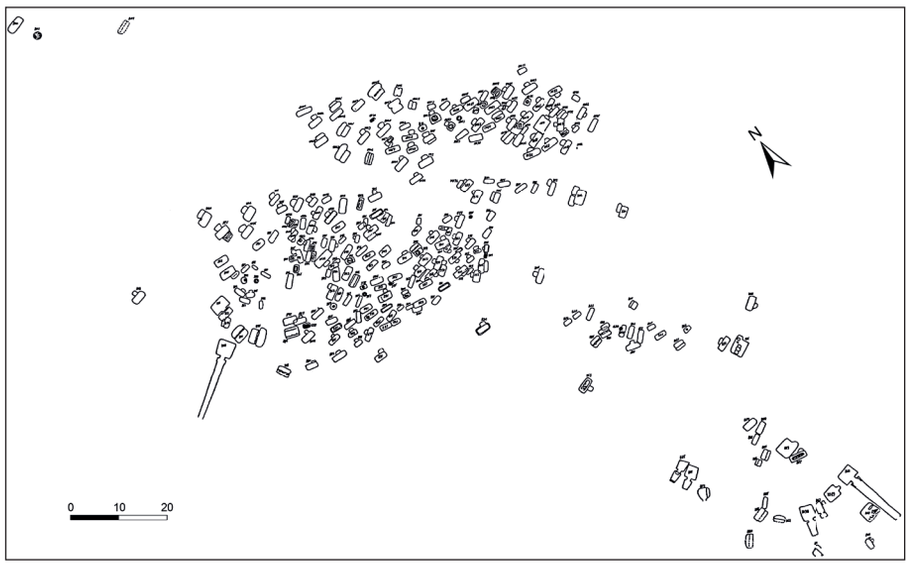


Figure 4.2 Map of the Casale del Fosso burial ground of Veii (Buranelli, Drago & Paolini 1997, fig. 2).

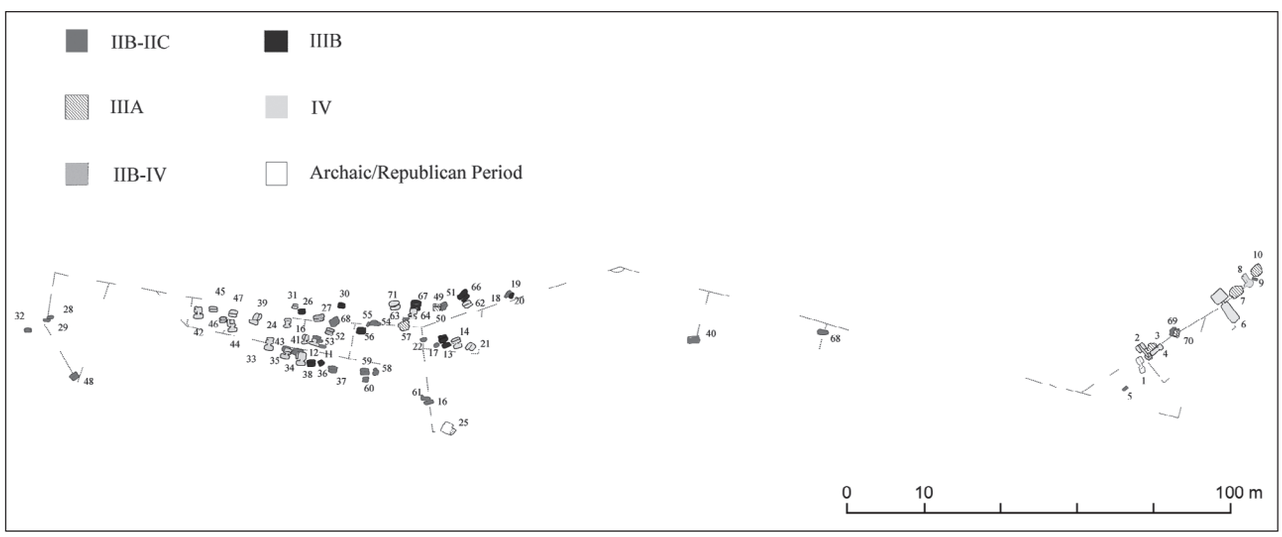


Figure 4.3 Map of the Macchia della Comunità burial ground of Veii (Neri in press, fig. 3).

and later on in (semi-built) chamber tombs, furnished with a *corridoio*.[449] In order to protect the tomb construction, the chambers were covered with mounds of earth. These so-called tumuli, which were initially purely functional, later mainly served cultic and prestigious ends.[450] Although chamber tombs have been attested at all Etruscan sites, the apparel of the tomb type in Etruria is rather diverse; whilst the Caeretan chamber tombs were very 'realistic', clearly imitating the domestic house, the chamber tombs from most other sites do not display this tendency.[451] There is a large range of variety in the ground plan and lay-out of the tombs, as well as in the contruction techniques used for their creation.[452]

However, since this chapter focusses on parallels originating from sites in the vicinity of Crustumerium, only the chamber tombs from Southern Etruria will be dealt with in more detail, i.e. the tombs from the burial grounds of Veii and those found at Località Volusia, a burial ground situated in the territory of Veii.

Chamber tombs have been attested on several of the burial grounds of Veii. It has been noted that the chamber tombs on the burial grounds to the southwest of the settlement were simple structures with a small (transversal) entrance shaft (the so-called caditoia), whilst the chamber tombs on the northern burial grounds had a more complex structure. The latter were furnished with a long dromos, one or more

449 Riva 2010, 112-115, fig. 29; Colonna 1986, 395. At Caere, this development took place during the first half of the 7th century BC (Prayon 1975, 15).
450 Colonna 1986, 395-396.
451 Colonna 1986, 420-421.
452 Colonna 1986, 420-431.

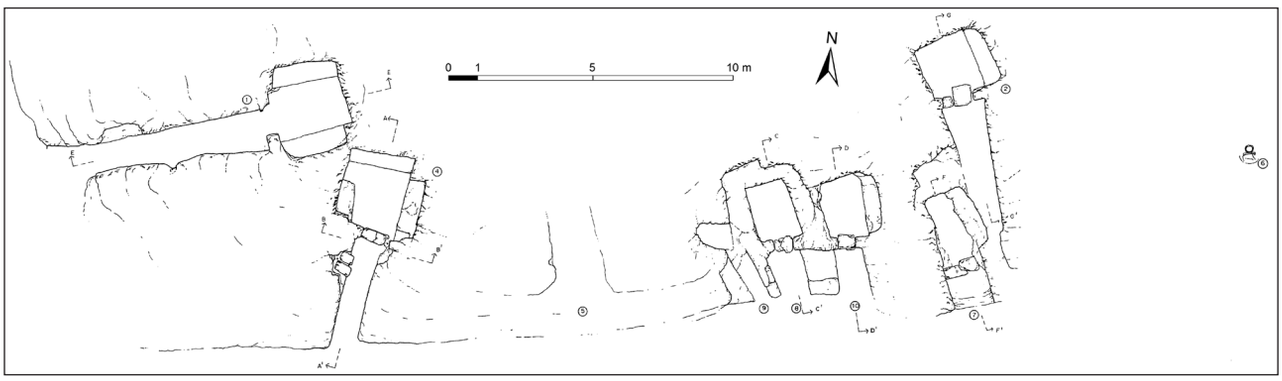


Figure 4.4 Map of the chamber tombs identified at Località Volusia (Carbonara 1996, fig. 5).

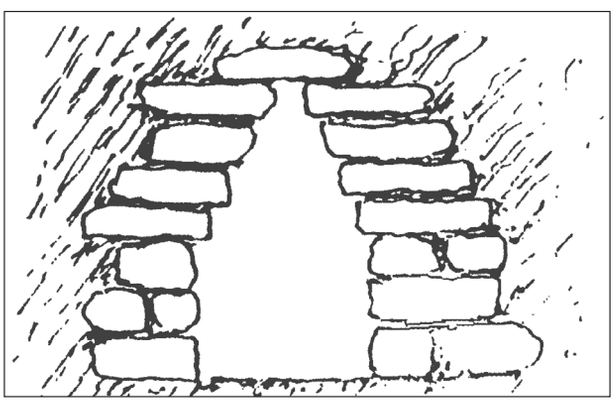


Figure 4.5 Entrance of tomb 95 on the Esquiline burial ground in Rome (Cifani 2008, fig. 268).

rooms and lateral cells and some of these tombs had painted decoration and representations of roof beams, either painted or in bas-relief.[453] The first chamber tombs on the Casale del Fosso burial ground, situated to the northwest of the settlement, date to the beginning of the 7th century BC (see fig. 4.2).[454] The 15 chamber tombs that have been identified at this burial ground all have a very simple lay-out consisting of one room without loculi, mostly not furnished with benches or funerary beds.[455] The tombs were equipped with a short dromos, widening towards the entrance.[456] Chamber tombs furnished with a transversal caditoia have been found at the Macchia della Comunità burial ground (see fig. 4.3).[457]

Investigations at Località Volusia yielded seven subterranean chamber tombs, which had all been furnished with a long dromos (see fig. 4.4).[458] The lay-out of the chambers, however, differed from tomb to tomb.[459] One dromos was furnsished with an additional loculus.[460] The tombs have been dated to the second half of the 7th century BC.[461]

Chamber tombs in Latium Vetus

The introduction of the chamber tomb on the burial grounds of Latium Vetus occurred a little later than in Etruria; the first chamber tombs have been dated to the end of the 7th century BC, but the type started to occur more and more frequently over the course of the 6th and 5th century BC.[462] The tomb type has been identified at Rome, Centocelle, Lavinium, Satricum, Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima),

453 Berardinetti *et al.* 1997, 332-333.
454 Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77.
455 Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77. Only one tomb had red paint on its walls (Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77, note 62).
456 Two tombs had two small benches near the entrance, probably intended for cult activities (Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77-79).
457 See Neri 2013, esp. fig. 3.
458 Tomb 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are chamber tombs (di Gennaro 1990c, 510; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 17).
459 The rectangular chamber of tomb 1was furnished with two lateral loculi (di Gennaro 1990c, 511; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 19-20). Tomb 2 was furnished with one lateral loculus (to the right); the entrance to the rectangular chamber had been closed off with large tuff slabs (di Gennaro 1990c, 511; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 40-41). The chamber of tomb 4 had three loculi, two lateral ones and one in the back wall. The chamber was closed off with large tuff slabs. An additional loculus or chamber may have been situated to the left of the dromos (di Gennaro 1990c, 512; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 41-45). Tomb 7 had a small, elongated chamber furnished with a loculus on the right (di Gennaro 1990c, 512; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 79-80). Tomb 8 had a rectangular chamber, equipped with a loculus on the right (di Gennaro 1990c, 513-514; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 81). Tomb 9 had a small chamber with a loculus on the western side (di Gennaro 1990c, 512-513; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 91). Tomb 10 had an almost rectangular chamber, furnished with a loculus on the right (di Gennaro 1990c, 514; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 92-93). Note that both di Gennaro and Carbonara *et al.* refer to the loculi inside the chamber as *banchine* (benches), but the drawings of the tombs suggest that we are actually dealing with proper sepulchral niches, i.e. loculi.
460 The dromos of tomb 1 had probably been equipped with a loculus closed off with tiles (di Gennaro 1990c, 511).
461 di Gennaro 1990c, 511.
462 Bedini 1990c, 255.

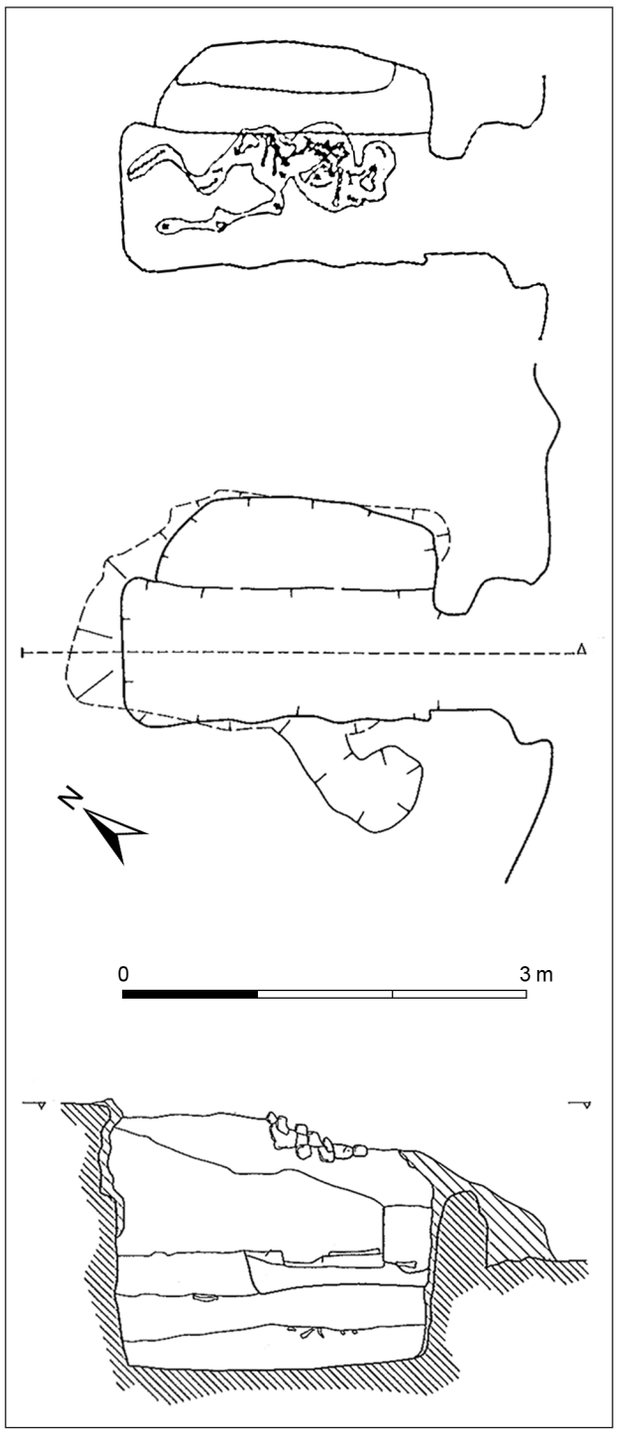


Figure 4.6 Chamber tomb at Centocelle (after Festuccia & Remotti 2004, fig. 5).

Località Torrino, Tor de' Cenci, Fidenae, Osteria dell'Osa, Corcolle, Ardea and Nomentum.[463]

The two most well-known chamber tombs from Rome are both located on the Esquiline burial ground.[464] Tomb 95 consisted of a small, rectangular chamber with an arch-shaped ceiling built up from rectangular blocks of *pietra gabina* (see fig. 4.5).[465] The tomb probably contained a single burial that was accompanied by an elaborate set of grave gifts.[466] It has been attributed to Latial period IVA.[467]

Tomb 125 was excavated by Lanciani in 1875.[468] Apart from the fact that it was a subterranean structure, very little is known about the architectonic lay-out of the tomb.[469] The tomb contents were apparently rather abundant; it consisted of imported objects of proto-Corinthian ware and vessels of *bucchero sottile* amounting to as much as 'due intere cariuole'.[470] Based on the contents, the tomb has been dated to the 7th century BC.[471]

A chamber tomb has been identified in the so-called Area T. 505 at Centocelle. The tomb has a NW/SE orientation and consists of a rectangular chamber and a short corridoio (see fig. 4.6). The chamber was furnished with a lateral, rectangular bench, extending over the entire length of the chamber.[472] A small niche was situated on the left side of the entrance to the chamber, at some distance above the floor level. An additional room may originally have been located in front of the structure, but it cannot be reconstructed due to heavy erosion.[473] It is believed that the tomb dates between the 6th and the 4th century BC based on the architectonic lay-out of the tomb and the absence of grave gifts.[474]

A chamber tomb was discovered by accident at Lavinium in 1993.[475] The tomb originally consisted of two chambers, connected by a doorway (see fig. 4.7a-c). One chamber, presumably the oldest one, had been completely filled up, probably as the result of the collapse of the ceiling above it. The main chamber contained four depositions, dating between the second quarter of the 6th and the second half of the 4th century BC.[476] It held one cremation contained in

463 The one known chamber tomb of Nomentum is located at Quarto della Conca, southeast of the settlement (Togninelli 2010, 59, 62). Since the information regarding this tomb is extremely limited, it does not occur in the remainder of this chapter.

464 Bartoloni 2003, 64; Naso 1990, 249.
465 Pinza 1905, 150.
466 Pinza 1905, 151.
467 Cifani 2008, 323, fig. 268.
468 Sommella Mura 1978, 28.
469 Cifani 2008, 324; Pinza 1905, 194.
470 Translation: two entire wheelbarrows (Sommella Mura 1978, 29).
471 Sommella Mura 1978, 29. The tomb would have been reused at the end of the 4th century BC (Bartoloni 1987, 155; Ryberg 1940, 58).
472 The chamber measured 2.70 x 1.50 m; the corridoio measured 1.20 x 1.00 m. The bench was 0.70 m wide.
473 Festuccia & Remotti 2004, 313.
474 Festuccia & Remotti 2004, 315.
475 Guaitoli 1995, 557.
476 Guaitoli 1995, 557.

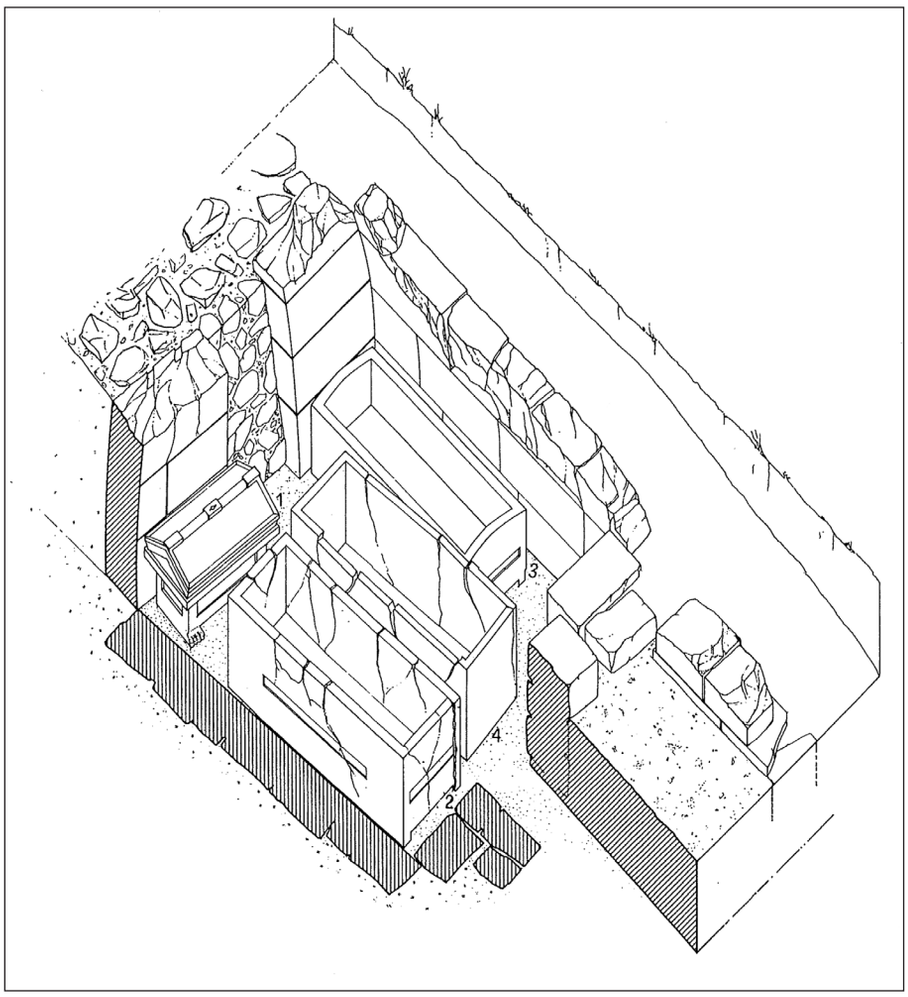


Figure 4.7a Overview of the contents of the chamber tomb at Lavinium (Guaitoli 1995, fig. 7).

Figure 4.7b Top view of the chamber tomb at Lavinium (Guaitoli 1995, fig. 8).

an urn and three inhumations buried inside sarcophagi.[477] The surviving chamber was partially cut out in the bedrock and partially built up of 'cappellaccio' blocks, creating a vaulted ceiling. The tomb must have been covered by a large tumulus.[478] A number of objects have been found on top of, and right next to the urn,[479] which have all been dated around 570 BC.[480] The date of the grave gifts that accompanied the other subsequent depositions in the tomb (buried inside the sarcophagi), suggests that the tomb remained in use until the second half of the 4th century BC.[481]

A limited number of chamber tombs have been attested at Satricum. Two so-called hut-chambers were

477 See for a description of the sarcophagi Guaitoli 1995, 558-560.
478 Guaitoli 1995, 557.
479 There were some in situ vessels on top of the lid of the urn; a Tyrrhenian amphora, a bucchero amphora with Etruscan inscription, the remains of a bronze situla and some other bronze fragments and small iron nails. Part of the gifts had slid down to the side of the urn; a rectangular object of bronze sheet, an iron spade and a bronze 'elemento terminale di elsa' (the end part of a hilt) (Guaitoli 1995, 558)
480 Guaitoli 1995, 558.
481 Guaitoli 1995, 560.

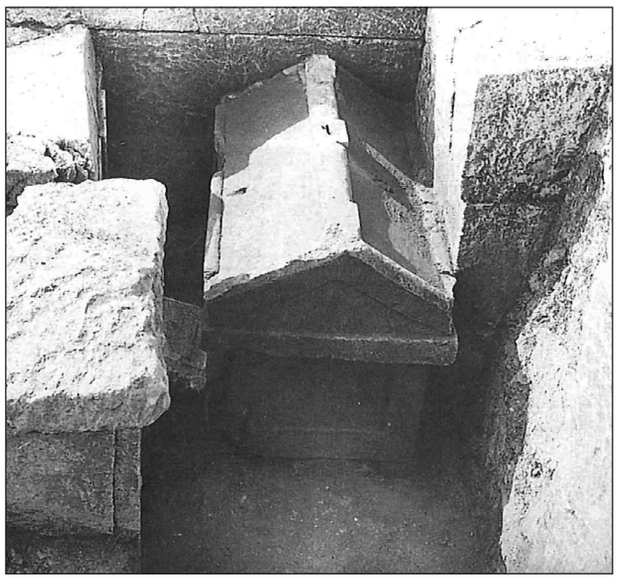



Figure 4.7c Tuff house-shaped urn and grave gifts deposited on the roof of the urn in the chamber tomb at Lavinium (Guaitoli 1995, fig. 9-10).

situated inside Tumulus C at Satricum.[482] Their name is derived from the fact that they would have resembled contemporary wooden structures in the settlement.[483] Tomb VII has been attributed to Latial period III; chamber tomb II has been dated to the beginning of Latial period IVA and was probably built up from square blocks, alternated with wooden beams.[484]

Two chamber tombs have been identified near the Fosso di Acqua Acetosa at Acqua Acetosa Laurentina. The parallel tombs, only 5 m apart, had an E/W orientation and were both furnished with a dromos and the chambers of both tombs had a loculus on the right hand side (see fig. 4.8a). The dromos of tomb 1 was rectangular. The entrance to the trapezoidal chamber was probably closed off with a large tuff slab and possibly some tiles. The loculus in the chamber had a vaulted ceiling. The entrance to the chamber of tomb 2 was closed off with a pile of four rectangular tuff slabs. The chamber itself was very small and should rather be considered as a prolonged dromos with a niche to the side.[485] Both tombs would date to the 6th/5th century BC.[486]

Two more chamber tombs have been identified immediately north of the defensive system of the proto-historic settlement of Acqua Acetosa (see fig. 4.8b and 4.8c). The first tomb was equipped with a long, narrow dromos ending in a small, rectangular chamber furnished with one loculus on the right hand side. A small niche in the wall of the dromos contained the remains of a child burial, accompanied by a glass bead.[487] Based on this find, the tomb has been attributed to the 5th century BC.[488] The second tomb consisted of a dromos, furnished with a loculus on the right hand side, closed off with tuff slabs. The burial was not accompanied by a single funerary gift.[489] The tomb has been dated to the end of the 6th or full 5th century BC based on analogies with the tombs from Casale Massima.[490]

The burial ground of Casale Massima was in use from the 8th until the 4th century BC.[491] Investigations at the site revealed a total of 40 tombs, among which two chamber tombs. The chamber tombs have a NNE/SSW orientation and have an intermediate distance of about 2.5 m (see fig. 4.9).[492] Tomb 1 was equipped with a long, narrow dromos that intersected an older fossa tomb.[493] The chamber 'a grotticella' had been sealed off with a number of large tuff slabs.[494] It was furnished with two niches; one to the right and one opposite the entrance.[495] Tomb 2

482 Bartoloni 2003, 64; Cifani 2008, 323-324; Waarsenburg 1995.
483 Cifani 2008, 323; Waarsenburg 1995, 293-298, 319.
484 Cifani 2008, 324.
485 Bedini 1983, 28, esp. fig. 2. See note 446 on the definition of the architectonic type.
486 Bedini 1983, 29.
487 Bedini 1983, 35-36, fig. 10.
488 Bedini 1983, 36.
489 Bedini 1983, 36-37, fig. 11.
490 Bedini 1983, 37.
491 Bedini 1990c, 255; Bedini 1980, 58.
492 Bedini 1983, 33-34; Bedini 1990c, 257.
493 Based on the presence of four small holes in the corners of that tomb, it is believed that it had contained a funerary bed (Bedini 1983, 33).
494 Bedini 1980, 60.
495 See for the orientation of the burials inside the niches the section *4.2.3 Orientation of later tombs compared to that of older ones*.

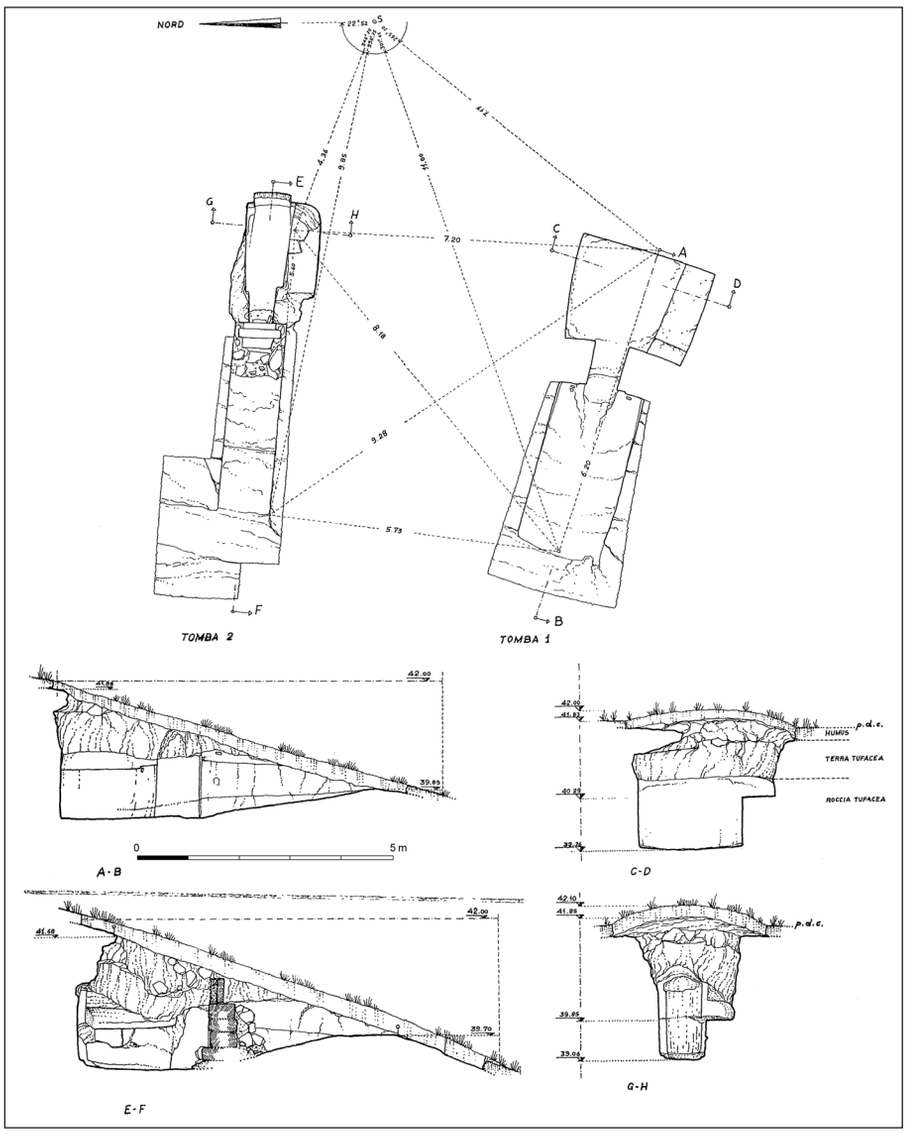


Figure 4.8a Plan and sections of tomb 1 and 2 at Acqua Acetosa (Bedini 1983, fig. 2).

consisted of a dromos with two steps and a loculus to the right, closed off with tiles.[496]

Investigations at Località Torrino[497] have yielded two chamber tombs, which were both cut out of the tuff bedrock (see fig. 4.10a-c).[498] Chamber tomb 1 consisted of a long dromos with two steps, a chamber with a small niche to the right and a second chamber cut out in its left wall, perpendicular to the first one and furnished with a bench. Chamber tomb 2 consisted of a long dromos leading to an *ambiente d'ingresso*[499] with two small *celle* on each side and a somewhat larger chamber in the back wall.[500] The *celle* were each equipped with one bench; the small chamber was furnished with two benches. All rooms had been closed off with piles of tuff blocks, except the second cella on the right.[501]

Investigations at Tor de' Cenci yielded several tombs clustered in two separate grave circles (see fig. 4.11). It is believed that the burial grounds was continuously in use from the 8th until the 2nd century BC.[502] Chamber tomb 12 surfaced in one of the grave circles at the burial ground. It was furnished with a short entrance ramp and the chamber, which had been closed off with two large tuff slabs, was

496 Bedini 1980, 60. A third chamber tomb, dating to the 4th century BC has been identified at about 20 m west of these two tombs (Bedini 1980, 63-64). Because of its late date, the tomb falls outside of the scope of the present study and has therefore not been adopted in the inventories provided in the remainder of this chapter.

497 Località Torrino is situated on the left bank of the river Tiber, at a distance of about 3.5 km from Acqua Acetosa and 6.5 km from Ficana (Bedini 1981, 57-58; Bedini 1984b, 84).

498 Bedini 1981, 58. Both tombs were presumable directed towards the east, even though Bedini states that tomb 1 was oriented to the southeast (see Bedini 1981, 62, fig. 6).

499 Translation: entrance room.

500 Bedini 1981, 60.

501 Bedini 1981, 61.

502 Bedini 1990b, 122.

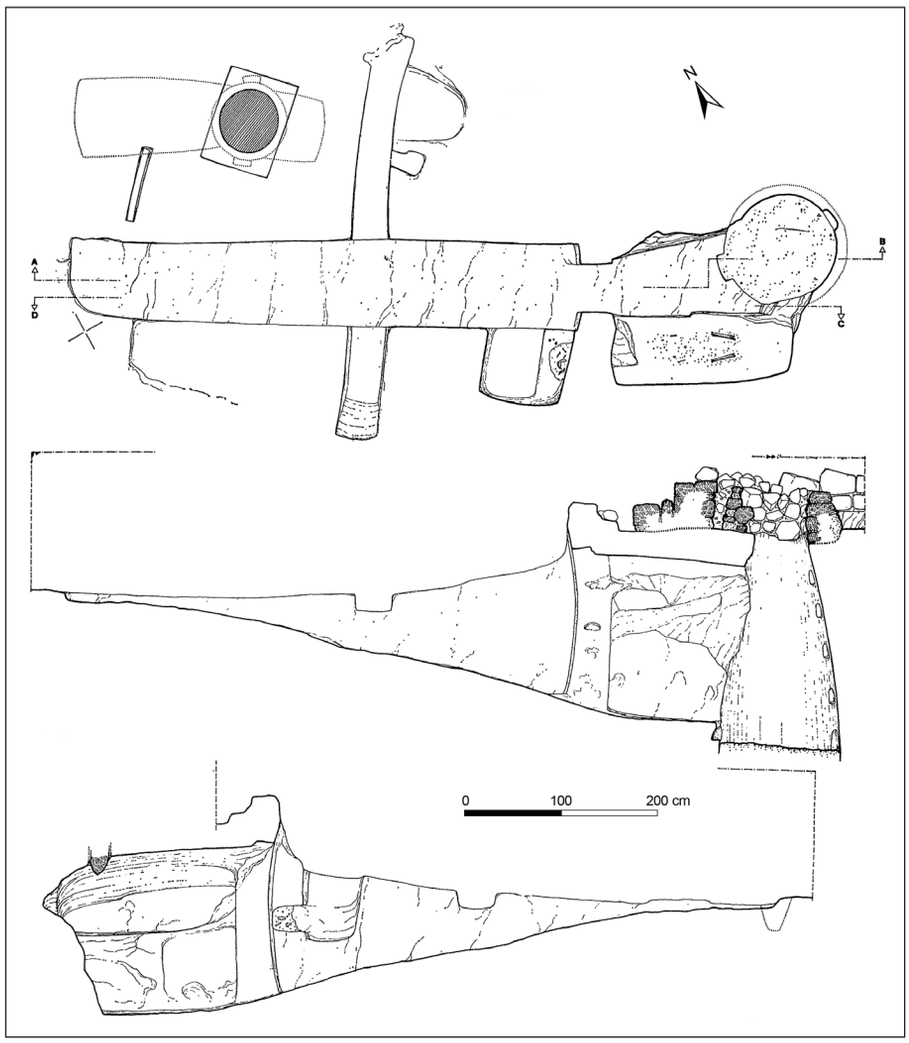


Figure 4.8b Plan and sections of tomb 3 at Acqua Acetosa (Bedini 1983, fig. 10).

equipped with two lateral loculi. Since the tomb yielded no grave-gifts, its date is derived from analogies with the architecture of the chamber tombs at Torrino and Laurentina; it has been attributed to the 6th/5th century BC, but may have been reused in the Republican period.[503]

Another chamber tomb (nr. 24) probably formed part of an older grave circle as well. The tomb suffered severely from erosion, hindering a proper reconstruction of its architectonic lay-out. It must have consisted of a chamber closed off with tuff slabs (see fig. 4.12). The scanty finds from inside the tomb suggest a date in the second half of the 7th century BC.[504] Eight more chamber tombs have been identified on both sides of the so-called *strada 4*. Many of these tombs consisted of a chamber furnished with one loculus (to the right); only one chamber was equipped with two loculi.[505] Tomb 16 yielded a *pentola* and has consequently been dated to the 6th/5th century BC. The pottery encountered in tomb 19 suggests a date in the 4th or 3rd century BC.[506] The other tombs yielded no grave gifts at all.

Excavations to the southeast of the settlement of Fidenae have revealed four chamber tombs. The tombs have been found at four different locations: at Via Pieve a Nievole, Via Castel Focognano, and Via Rio nell'Elba.[507] The tomb that has been published in more detail consisted of a long dromos with a steep staircase (see fig. 4.13). The entrance to the chamber was closed off with several tuff slabs. The deceased were placed in loculi, in sarcophagi, and on small

503 Other tombs had later been dug out in the ceiling of the chamber tomb, probably during the Imperial period (Bedini 1990b, 122).
504 Bedini 1990b, 125.
505 Bedini 1990b, 126.
506 Bedini 1990b, 126.
507 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 93-96.

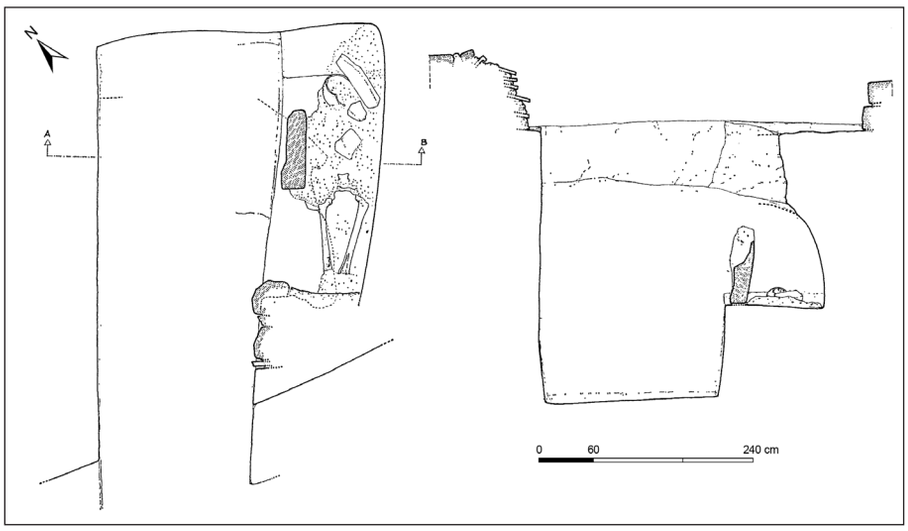


Figure 4.8c Plan and section of tomb 4 at Acqua Acetosa (Bedini 1983, fig. 11).

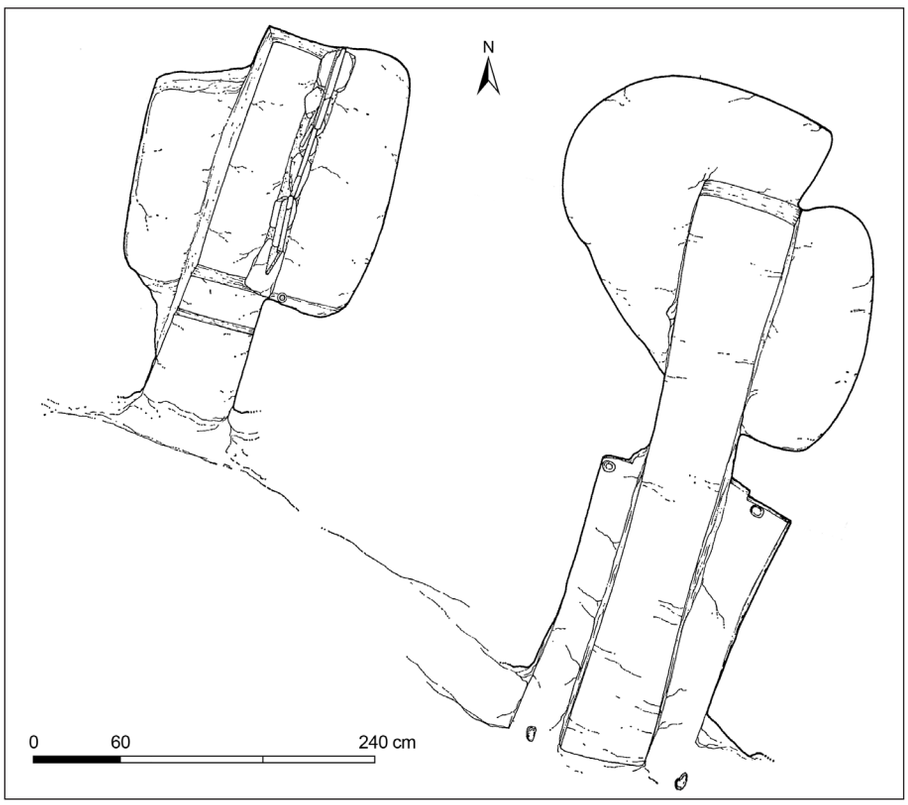


Figure 4.9 Tomb 1 and 2 at Acqua Acetosa, Casale Massima (Bedini 1983, fig. 9).

benches.[508] Based on its contents, the tomb has been dated to Latial period IVB or the Archaic period.[509]

Two chamber tombs have been identified in the investigations of the burial ground Osteria dell'Osa. Chamber tomb 62 consisted of a long, stepped dromos that lead to to two chambers, both closed off with an irregular pile of blocks (see fig. 4.14).[510] One chamber (the so-called *cella Est*) was in axis with the dromos, the other (so-called *cella Nord*) was perpendicular to it, i.e. positioned on the left end of the entrance way.[511] A small niche was cut out in the wall of the dromos, opposite the entrance of *cella Nord.* Both *celle* consist of rectangular rooms, furnished with benches along the lateral walls and the back wall. *Cella Est* was equipped with an additional loculus in the back wall. The reconstructed height of *cella Est* is ca. 1.85 m.[512] *Cella Nord* was probably created at a later moment, towards the end of the period of

508 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94.
509 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94-96.
510 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 864.
511 See Bietti Sestieri 1992a, plate 50.
512 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 864.

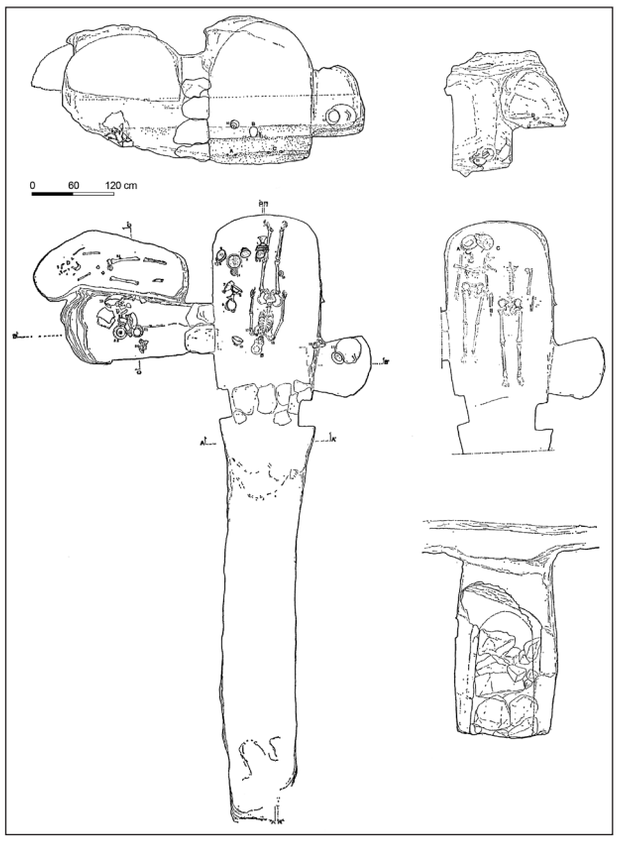


Figure 4.10a Plan and side views of tomb 1 at Località Torrino (Bedini 1981, fig. 4).

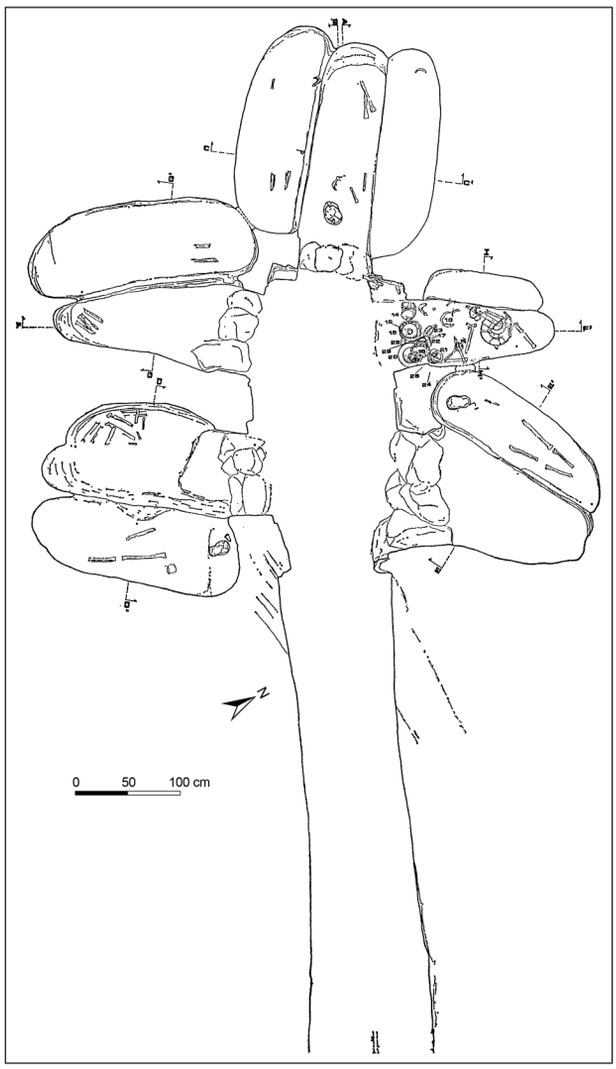


Figure 4.10b Plan of tomb 2 at Località Torrino (Bedini 1981, fig. 6).

use of *cella Est*.[513] It has a slightly irregular, rectangular plan and was about 1.20-1.30 m high.[514]

Tomb 62 housed the remains of at least 13 individuals; *cella Nord* contained two inhumation burials, *cella Est* contained 1 cremation and at least 10 inhumation burials.[515]

Only one more chamber tomb has been identified on the burial ground of Osteria dell'Osa; the tomb had been robbed and has not been excavated, but has been dated to Latial Period IVB based on a kantharos that was found on the surface.[516]

The chamber tombs that have been attested at Corcolle were entirely subterranean and were all equipped with a dromos (see fig. 4.15 and 4.16).[517] Many of the tombs were furnished with two lateral loculi; some chambers had an additional loculus in the back wall,[518] others were equipped with benches.[519] A few tombs were furnished with a stepped dromos and a closing system consisting of monolithic blocks.[520] Most of the dromoi were directed towards a road leading through the funerary area, but there are two exceptions to this rule.[521]

At least two chamber tombs have been identified at Località Vignacce at Ardea, which came to light during illicit excavations.[522] The two chamber tombs in question run parallel to each other and both consist of a square room furnished with two central pillars (see fig. 4.17). Based on parallels with similar structures from southern Etruria, the tombs have been dated to the 5th/4th century BC.[523] The tombs are not cited in the remainder of this chapter, because they fall outside of the chronological scope of the present study.

513 Unfortunately, a more precise date for the creation date of both *celle* is not specified (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 870).
514 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 870.
515 Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 204; Bietti Sestieri 1979, 187-194.
516 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 872.
517 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 121.
518 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 123.
519 Palombi 2013.
520 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 123.
521 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 123.
522 Morselli & Tortrici 1982, 110.
523 Morselli & Tortrici 1982, 111.

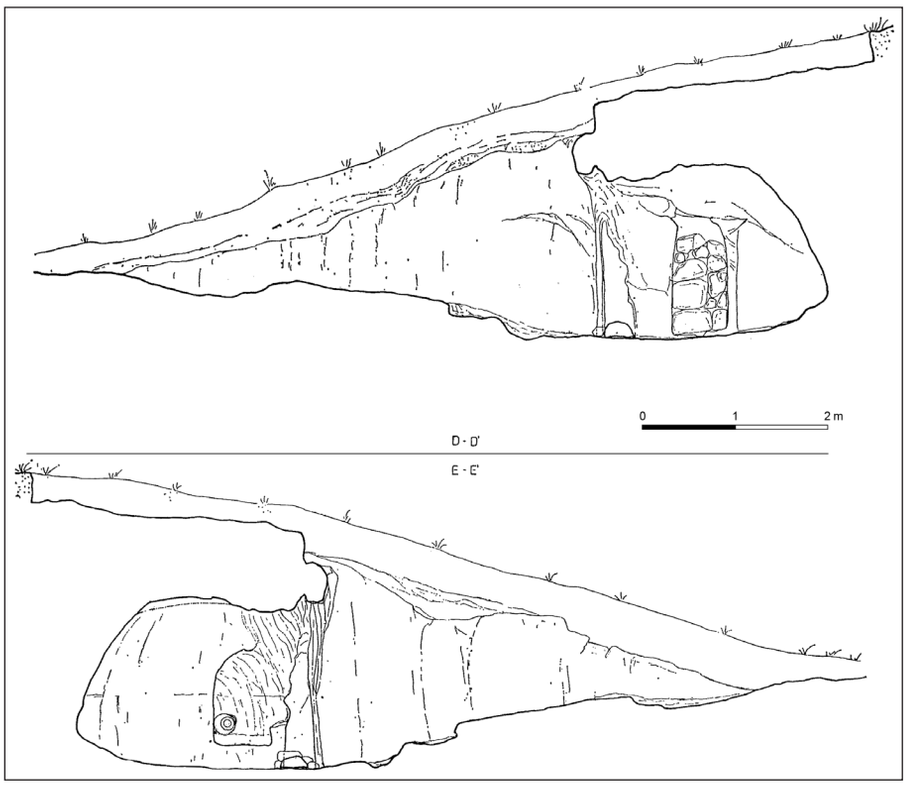


Figure 4.10c Side views of tomb 1 at Località Torrino (Bedini 1981, fig. 5).

Chamber tombs in the Faliscan region

Just at in Latium Vetus, the first chamber tombs in the *agro falisco* date to the first half of the 7th century BC. The tombs developed into complex architectonic structures with multiple levels of loculi in the walls of the chambers over the course of the 6th century BC.[524] The type has been attested at Narce, Falerii Veteres, Nepi and Capena.

The first chamber tombs at Narce date to the beginning of the 7th century BC. [525] The dead were either buried inside a tuff sarcophagus, or on a bench inside the small, entirely subterranean structures (see fig. 4.18). The chambers of the slightly later dating tombs were equipped with loculi.[526]

Chamber tombs appear on all the burial grounds of Falerii from the middle of the 7th century onwards and continue to be used until the Hellenistic period.[527] The tomb type has been identified at the *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* (see fig. 4.19),[528] Penna,[529] Colonnette (see fig. 4.21), Valsiarosa[530] and Celle.[531] The tombs were dug out in the tuff bedrock and were equipped with a vertical dromos and a square or trapezoidal chamber, usually furnished with multiple levels of loculi in the lateral walls and in the back, which had often been closed off with tiles.[532] The 6th century chamber tombs at Penna and Valsiarosa were equipped with a central pillar.[533]

Investigations at the Faliscan *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* yielded a subterranean chamber tomb with a long dromos, leading into a rectangular chamber, closed off with a large tuff slab. The chamber was furnished with four loculi; the dromos was equipped with one loculus, closed off with tuff blocks.[534] The two loculi in the chamber that had been sealed off with tiles would have pertained to the first phase use of the tomb, whilst the loculi that had been left open (both located in the back wall) would have been created at a subsequent stage. In total, the tomb contained seven inhumations and one cremation burial.[535] The tomb must have been in use over a longer period of time, namely between the middle of the 7th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.[536] It contained about 50 banqueting vessels, which had been grouped into proper assemblages.[537] In addition, the

524 De Lucia Brolli 1991, 12.
525 De Lucia Brolli 1991, 26.
526 De Lucia Brolli notes that the poor quality of the tuff bedrock has resulted in the frequent collapse of the chamber tombs (De Lucia Brolli 1991, 26).
527 Moscati 1990, 167.
528 De Lucia Brolli 1998.
529 Moscati 1990, fig. 7.
530 Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007.
531 Cifani 2003, 99.
532 Moscati 1990, 167.
533 Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, 143.
534 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 183.
535 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 186.
536 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 194-197.
537 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 1980.

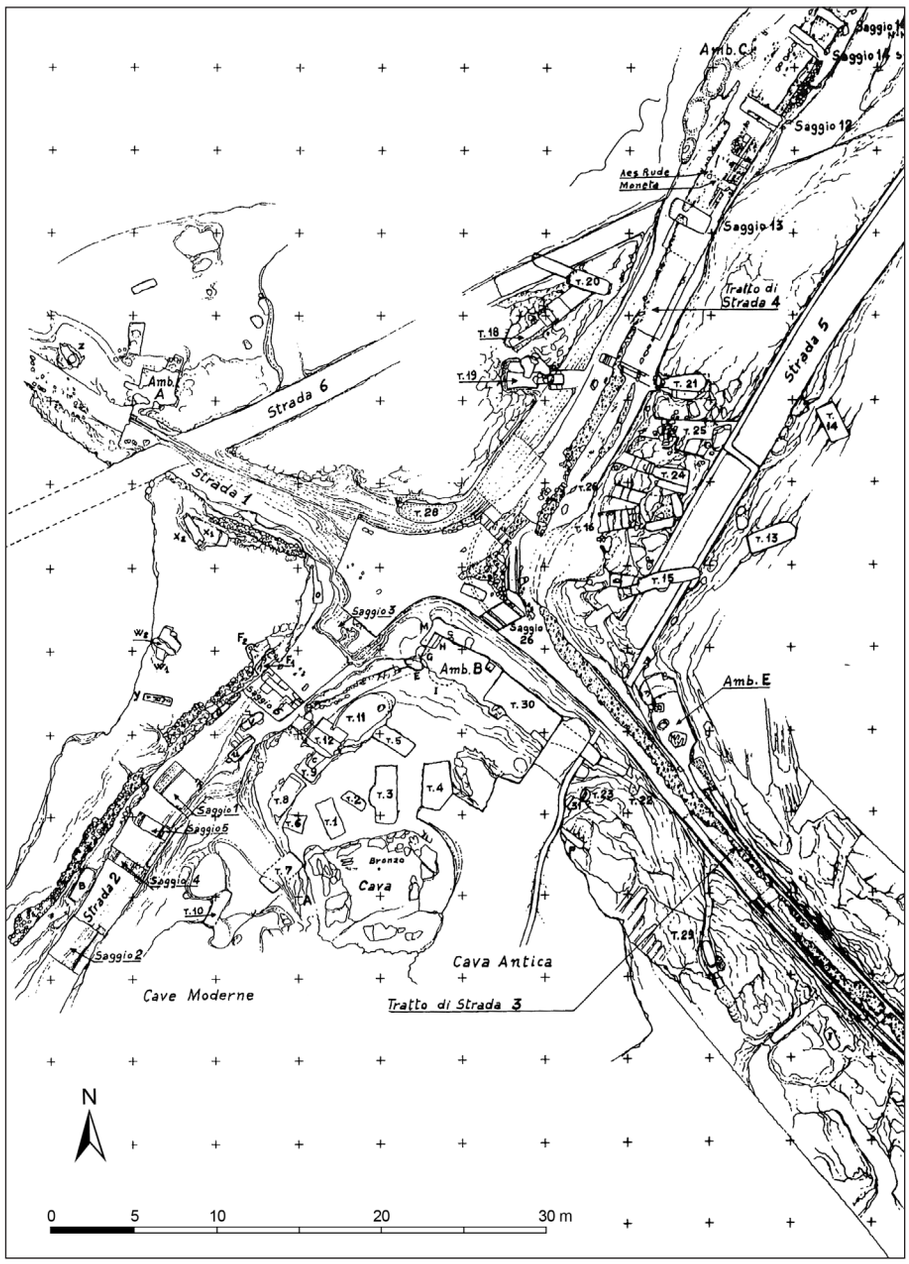


Figure 4.11 Map of the burial ground at Tor de' Cenci (Bedini 1990b, fig. 9).

chamber contained the remains of a *carro*.[538] The interred individuals were all accompanied by personal ornaments and by sets of weapons, except for the individual buried in the loculus in the dromos.[539]

The burial grounds of Nepi (Fosso del Cerro, Sante Grotte, Gilastro and S. Paolo) expanded in size over the course of the 7th to 5th century BC.[540] Chamber tombs have been attested at all burial grounds (see fig. 4.20).

The chamber tombs at Sante Grotte consisted of a dromos leading into a chamber with loculi, sarcophagi and wooden tables.[541] The broad date range of the objects deposited inside the tombs suggest that they must have been used over a longer period of time by a specific (descent) group.[542]

One of the chamber tombs at Fosso del Cerro consisted of a dromos, leading into a rectangular chamber, furnished with two lateral loculi and two niches in the back wall.[543] One of the loculi was closed off with tiles; the other was furnished with a decoration in bas-relief, mirroring the legs of an actual bed. The niches in the back wall each contained a cinerary

538 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 204.
539 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 205-206.
540 Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, 148.
541 Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, 148-149.
542 Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, 149.
543 Rizzo 1996, 479, fig. 2.

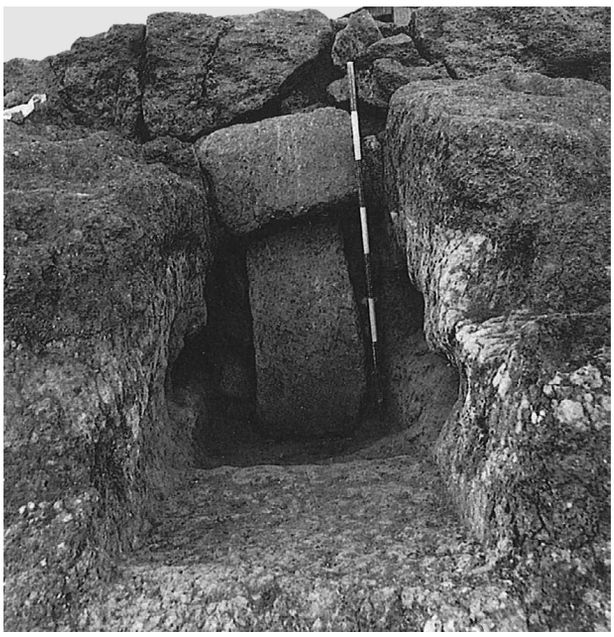


Figure 4.12 Closing slabs in front of the entrance of tomb 24, Tor de' Cenci (Bedini 1990b, fig. 6).

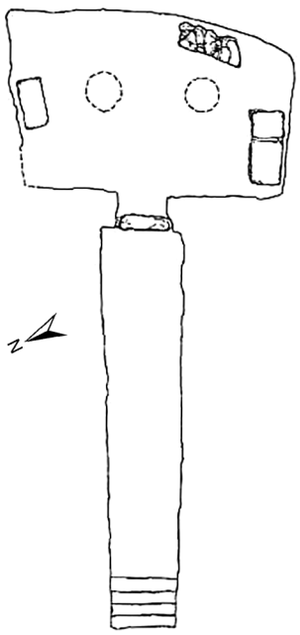


Figure 4.13 Plan of tomb 8 at Fidenae (di Gennaro et al. 2004, fig. 3).

urn. The tomb has been dated between the first half of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century BC.[544]

Chamber tombs appear on the Gilastro burial ground from the beginning of the 7th century BC onwards.[545] The tomb structures were of a considerable size, furnished with elaborate sets of grave gifts.[546] One of the chamber tombs of this burial ground consisted of a semi-built dromos, leading to a rectangular chamber equipped with one loculus in the left lateral wall. The chamber further contained two sarcophagi, both closed off with tiles. In addition, the chamber was furnished with two benches, consisting of a row of tuff blocks. The benches were also closed off with tiles which would have been inserted in a small groove in the margin of the tuff blocks. The tomb contained the remains of 6 inhumed individuals, which would have been deposited in the tomb between the middle of the 7th and the 5th century BC, with an emphasis on the 6th century, based on the date of the majority of the grave-gifts; The tomb yielded an elaborate set of objects of bucchero, depurated ware, impasto, iron and bronze amounting to about a hundred objects. [547]

Chamber tombs have also been identified on the S. Paolo burial ground and would date between the 8th century BC and the Hellenistic period.[548] The chambers are of modest size and were often furnished with loculi, benches or loculi that imitated funerary beds, but very frequently with square blocks placed on the chamber floor, which would have functioned as base for a wooden bier. The loculi were either closed off with tiles or with tuff blocks.

Capena was surrounded by several burial grounds; Le Saliere, Le Macchie, Monte Cornazzano, San Martino, M. Pacciano and Monte Cucolo.[549] Chamber tombs have been identified at Monte Palombo (see fig. 4.22), Le Saliere (dating between the end of the 7th and the 4th century BC), San Martino (dating between the 6th and the 4th century BC),[550] Le Macchie[551] and Monte Cornazzano (dating to the 8th and 7th century BC).[552] Due to the limited availability of data, a description of the architectonic lay-out of the chamber tombs at Capena is not permitted. An illustration from a tomb at Monte Palombo shows, however, that the trapezoidal chamber was equipped with three loculi.[553]

Chamber tombs in the Sabine region

Also in the Sabine region, chamber tombs start to on the burial grounds from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards; they have been attested at Colle

544 Rizzo 1996, 479.
545 Rizzo 1996, 484.
546 Rizzo 1996, 483.
547 Rizzo 1996, 484.
548 Rizzo 1996, 487.
549 Gazzetti 1992, 19; Jones 1962, 144-145.
550 Gazzetti 1992, 19-20.
551 Jones 1962, 145.
552 Toro 1995, 38.
553 See Jones 1962, fig. 12.

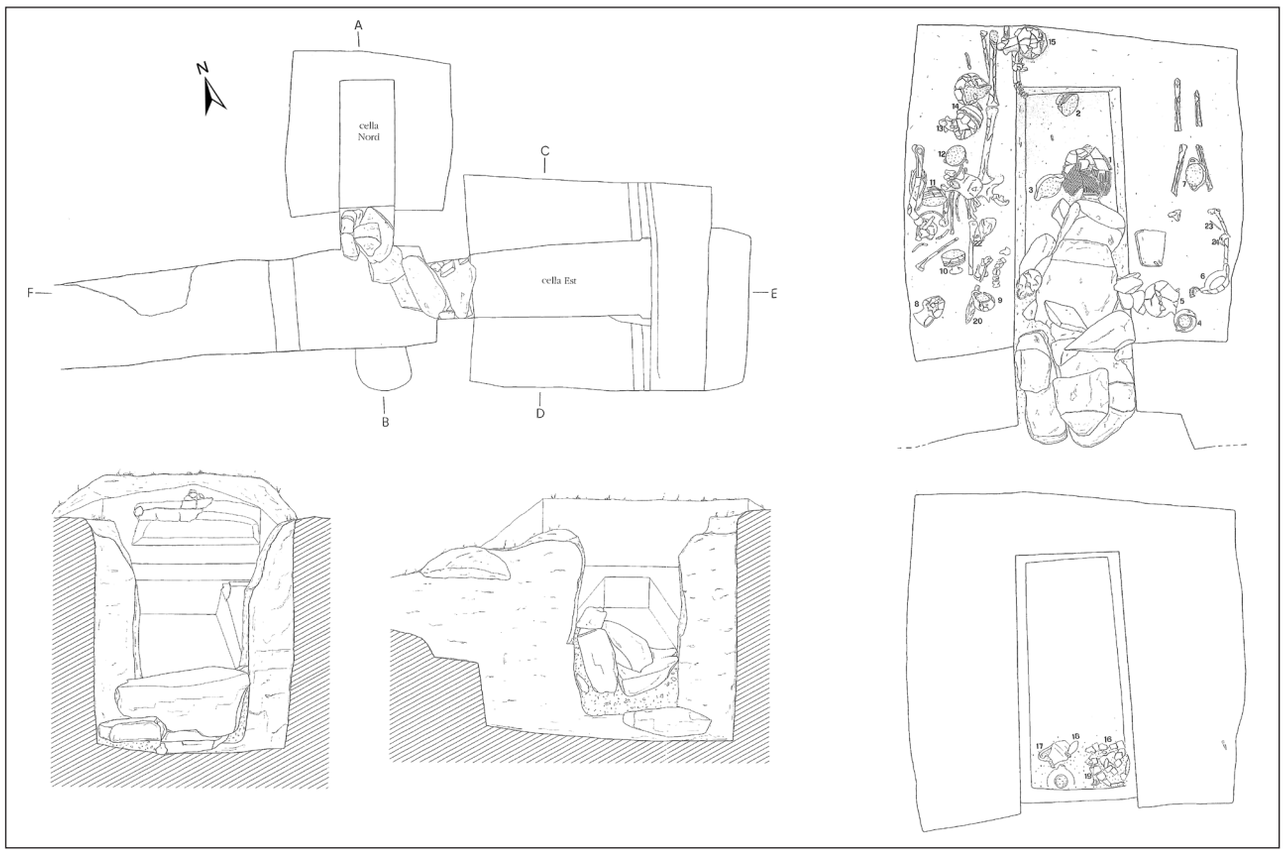


Figure 4.14 Plan and side views of chamber tomb 62 at Osteria dell Osa (Bietti Sestieri 1992, pl. 3).

del Forno (Eretum), Poggio Sommavilla, Magliano Sabina and possibly at Cures Sabini.

The chamber tombs at the Colle del Forno burial ground were constructed between end of the 7th and the middle of the 6th century BC.[554] The tombs were completely subterranean and equipped with a long dromos (length varying between 3 and 6 m) (see fig. 4.23a-f).[555] The chambers were furnished with benches or (multiple levels of) loculi on the lateral walls and the back wall. In exceptional cases, the dromos was furnished with two lateral *celle*.[556]

The burial ground at Poggio Sommavilla was in use from the middle of the 7th century onwards and comprised fossa tombs, fossa tombs with a dromos and chamber tombs.[557] The first chamber tombs were semi-built, but from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards, the chambers were completely subterranean and furnished with one or more loculi, sometimes even multiple levels of loculi, closed off with tiles or tuff blocks (see fig. 4.24a-e).[558] The architectonic lay-out of the chamber tombs at Poggio Sommavilla shows inspiration from Caeretan models and examples from Chiusi; some tombs were furnished with a thatched roof, others had a central wall, dividing the chamber in two rooms.[559] At least one of the chamber tombs at Poggio Sommavilla was furnished with a transversal caditoia.[560]

The first chamber tombs appear at the burial grounds of Magliano Sabina at the beginning of the 6th century BC.[561] The tomb type has been identified on the burial grounds Madonna del Giglio and San Biagio. The burial ground Madonna del Giglio was in use from second half of the 7th century BC, until somewhere in the 6th century, with a period of reuse in the second half of the 4th century BC.[562] The chamber tombs at this location were either entirely subterranean or semi-built and were equipped with loculi

554 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 107-108.
555 Santoro 1973b, 39.
556 Santoro 1973b, 39-41.
557 Cifani 2003, 137.
558 Cifani 2003, 139; Santoro 2002, 24; Cristofani Martelli 1977, 14, fig. 2.
559 Santoro 2002, 24.
560 Salskov Roberts 1977, 51, fig. 9.
561 Santoro 2002, 19.
562 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 311.

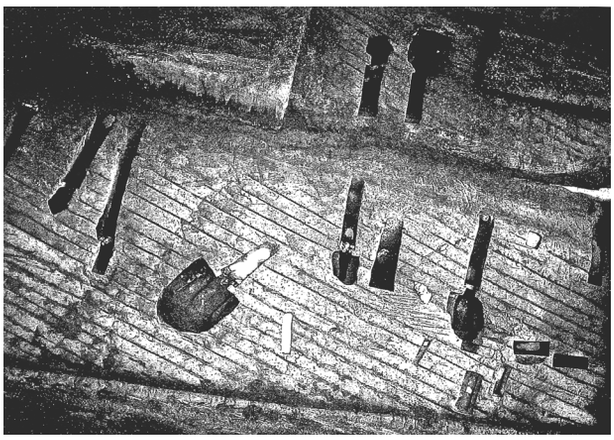


Figure 4.15 Overview of the tombs at Corcolle (Reggiani 1998, fig. 2).

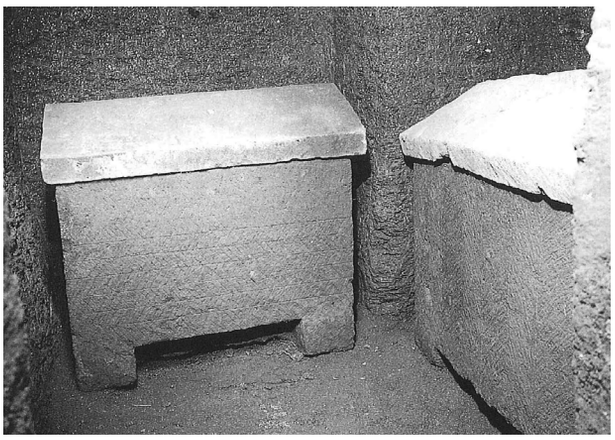


Figure 4.16 House-shaped urns in one of the chamber tombs at Corcolle (Reggiani 1998, fig. 4).

in the walls. Apart from chamber tombs, the burial ground yielded a number of fossa tombs.[563]

The burial ground San Biagio was in use during the first half of the 6th century BC.[564] Only one chamber tomb of this burial ground has been properly excavated; the presence of others is derived from clandestine activities in the area.[565]

A subterranean structure on the Colle di S. Maria degli Arci has been interpreted as a chamber tomb. It consisted of a long dromos ending in a small elliptical chamber with a niche in the back wall (see fig. 4.25). Although the structure had been robbed from its contents and even though no other tombs have surfaced in its vicinity, it seems plausible that it represents a tomb.[566]

Architectonic variability, construction and finishing

The inventory presented above has shown that the introduction of the chamber tomb was a rather widespread phenomenon that took place almost contemporaneously at many different burial grounds in Southern Etruria, Latium Vetus, the Faliscan and the Sabine region.

In order to accentuate the enormous variety in the lay-out and finishing of the chamber tombs in the region under study, the following section cites all variants of this architectonic type, listing the sites where the corresponding tombs have been attested in notes (see also table 4.1 and fig. 4.25).[567] It will become clear that variation has not only been identified in the entrance ways and the chambers (and their furnishing), but also in construction technique and finishing.

Firstly, the entrance way that led into the chamber was either shaped as a caditoia (a relatively small vertical shaft),[568] or as a dromos (a long entrance way).[569] If the chamber tomb was furnished with a caditoia, the entrance could be either perpendicular to or in axis with the chamber itself.[570] The dromoi were occasionally furnished with steps[571] or equipped with a loculus that housed a burial.[572] In addition, some dromoi were furnished with one or two small niches.[573] While the entrance ways were mostly dug out of the bedrock, we have one example of a dromos that was semi-built.[574]

The shape and lay-out of the actual chambers was even more diverse than that of the entrance ways. Whereas some chambers had an extremely simple

563 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 310.
564 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 312.
565 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 311.
566 Guidi & Bistolfi 1995, 636-639, fig. 2.
567 See for the architectonic lay-out of the tombs mentioned in the following the text and illustrations of sections *Chamber tombs in Etruria; Chamber tombs in Latium Vetus*; *Chamber tombs in the Faliscan region*; *Chamber tombs in the Sabine region*.
568 Chamber tombs furnished with a caditoia have been identified at Veii and Poggio Sommavilla.
The chamber tomb that has been identified at Centocelle is said to have been equipped with a short *corridoio*, but a look at the tomb drawing suggests that the term caditoia would qualify as well (Festuccia & Remotti 2004, 313).
569 Tombs accessed by a dromos have been encountered at (Fosso di) Acqua Acetosa, Casale Massima, Località Torrino, Tor de' Cenci and at the northern burial grounds of Veii. The floor level of the dromos could differ as well and was either horizontal or diagonal, sloping down towards the entrance to the chamber.
570 Transversal entrance shafts have been encountered at Veii and Poggio Sommavilla.
571 Stepped dromoi have been encountered in Osteria dell'Osa and Corcolle.
572 Dromoi furnished with loculi have been attested at the *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* at Falerii, at Acqua Acetosa (Bedini 1983, 35-36) and at Località Volusia.
573 Small niches inside the dromos have been identified at Casale Massima, Osteria dell'Osa and Colle del Forno.
574 A semi-built dromos has been encountered at a burial ground near Nepi.

Table 4.1 Overview of the characteristics of the chamber tombs per site.

Site	Dromos (D)/Caditoia (C)	Perpendicular (P)/Axial (A)	Steps	Loculus in dromos	Niche(s) in dromos	Construction entrance: Dug out (D)/Semi-built (S)	Simple chamber tombs (without loc + benc)	Chamber tombs with benches	Chamber tombs with loculi	Chamber tombs with loculi and benches	Chamber tombs with multiplr levels of loculi	Multiple chambers	Closing system: tuff slabs	Open loculi	Loculi closed off with tiles	Loculi closed off with blocks	Construction chamber: Dug out (D)/Semi-built (S)	Chamber tomb 'a grotticella'
Acqua Acetosa	D	A		X	X	D			X				X	X	X	X	D	X
Ardea	?	A				D											D	
Capena	?	A				D					X?				X		D	
Centocelle	C	A				D		X						X			D	
Colle del Forno	D	A			X	D		X	X		X			X	X		D	
Corcolle	D	A	X			D		X	X				X	X			D	
Cures Sabina	?	A				D		X?	X								D	
Falerii Veteres	D	A		X		D			X		X		X	X	X		D	
Fidenae	D	A				D		X	X	X			X	x	X		D	
Lavinium	?	A				D	X										S	
Località Torrino	D	A				D		X				X		X			D	X
Località Volusia	D	A		X		D			X				X		X		D	
Magliano Sabina	?	A				D											S	
Narce	?	A				D		X	X								D	
Nepi	D	A				S		X	X						X		S	
Nomentum	?	A				D											D	
Osteria dell'Osa	D	A	X		X	D		X		X		X		X			D	
Poggio Sommavilla	C + D	P				D					X				X	X	D	
Rome	?	A				D	X										S	
Satricum	?	A				D	X										S	
Tor de' Cenci	D	A				D			X				X				D	
Veii	C + D	P + A				D	X	X							X		D	

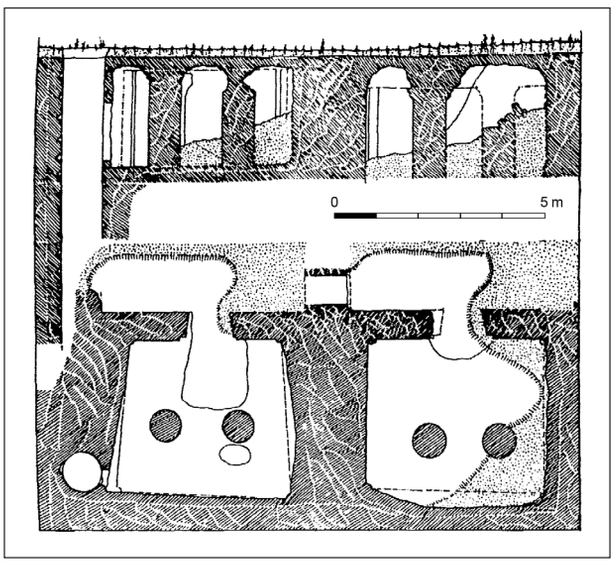


Figure 4.17 Plan of two chamber tombs from Ardea (Marselli & Tortorici 1982, fig. 128).

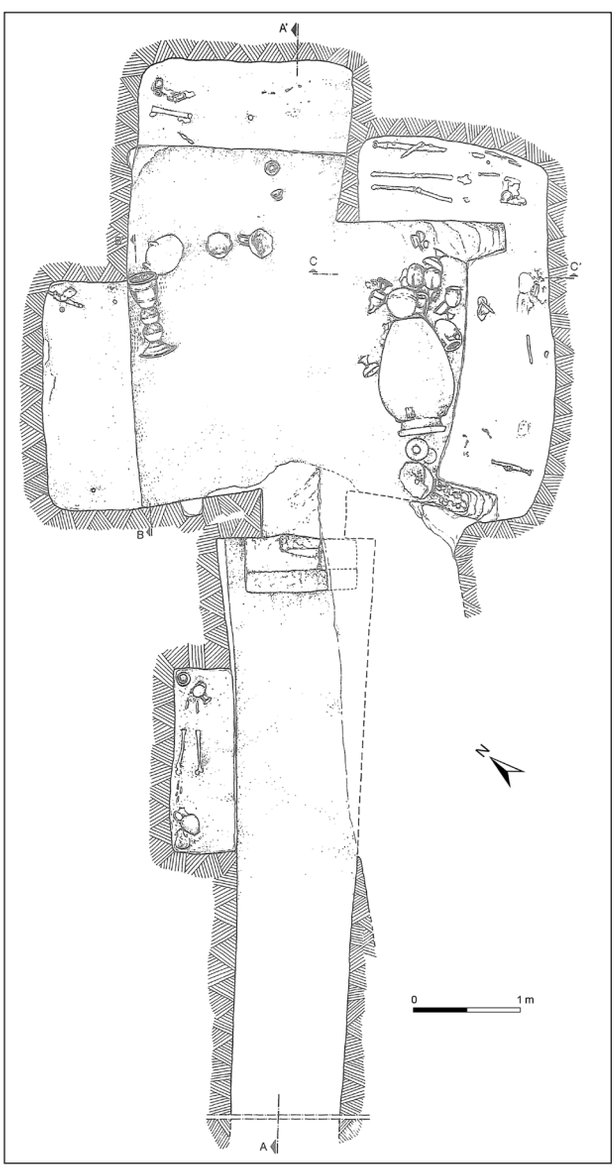


Figure 4.19 Plan of the chamber tomb from the Cappuccini burial ground at Falerii Veteres (De Lucia Brolli 1998, fig. 2).

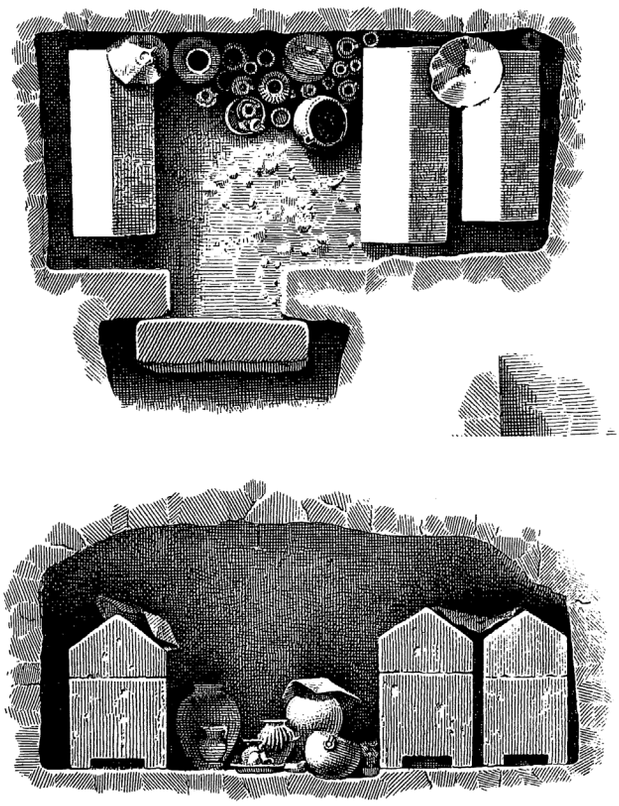


Figure 4.18 Plan and side view of a chamber tomb at Narce (Moretti Sgubini & Carlucci 1998, fig. 51).

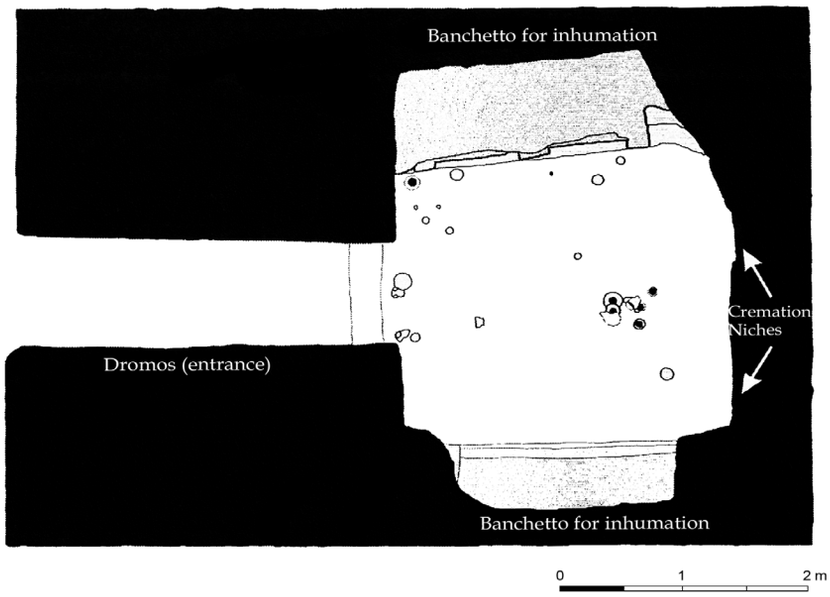
plan, consisting of no more than a small room which could be rectangular or rounded,[575] other, more complex chambers were furnished with one or more benches and/or (multiple levels of) loculi.[576] The most elaborate chamber tombs consisted of multiple burial chambers and were sometimes even furnished

575 Examples of simple chambers without loculi or benches have been identified at Casale del Fosso (although not all chambers had a simple plan; see Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77) and at Narce,

576 Chambers furnished with benches have been attested at Centocelle, Corcolle, Fidenae, Località Torrino, Osteria dell'Osa, Veii (Casale del Fosso), Narce, Colle del Forno, Nepi (the benches consist of tuff blocks) and possibly at Cures.

Chambers equipped with loculi occur at Acqua Acetosa, Casale Massima, Tor de' Cenci, Fidenae, Corcolle, Località Volusia, Falerii, Narce, Nepi, Colle del Forno and Magliano Sabina.

Chambers furnished with benches *and* loculi have been identified at Osteria dell'Osa and Fidenae. Tombs furnished with multiple levels of loculi have been identified on the burial grounds of Falerii, at Capena, Colle del Forno and Poggio Sommavilla.



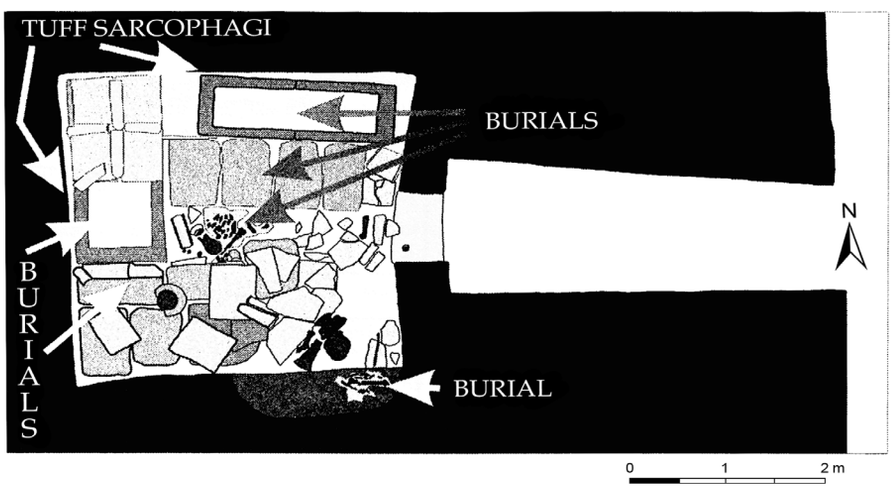


Figure 4.20 Two examples of chamber tombs from Nepi (Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, fig. 26).

with several additional rooms.[577] Multiple levels of loculi have only been attested in the Faliscan and Sabine region and therefore clearly represent a regional pattern.

We can further detect several different closing systems that were being used inside the tombs. Whilst the chambers were usually closed off with

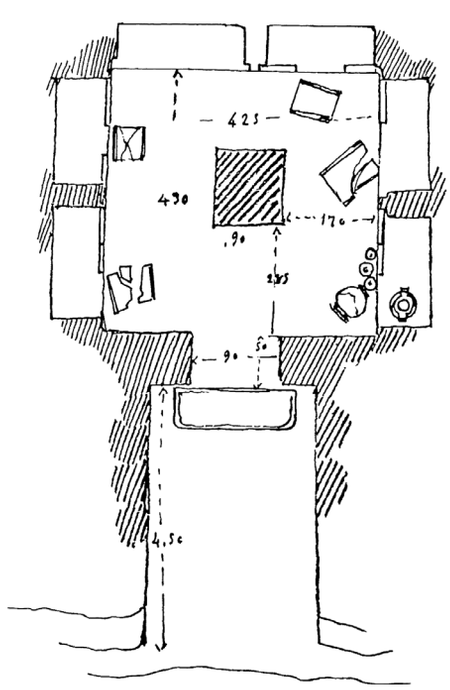


Figure 4.21 Plan of a chamber tomb at Colonnette, Falerii Veteres (Moscati 1990, fig. 19).

577 Examples have been identified at Osteria dell'Osa and Località Torrino. Tomb 62 from Osteria dell'Osa and tomb 1 from Località Torrino are very comparable; both had been equipped with two chambers and a small niche inside the dromos. However, whereas both of the chambers of the Osteria dell'Osa tomb are connected to the dromos, the second chamber of the chamber tomb at Località Torrino has been dug out in the wall of the first chamber and has therefore no direct connection with the dromos (cfr. Bedini 1981, 62, fig. 6 and Bietti Sestieri 1992a, pl. 50).

Another chamber tomb from Località Torrino has a rather complex architectonic lay-out as well, consisting of a long dromos leading to an *ambiente d'ingresso* furnished with two small so-called *celle* on each side and a somewhat larger chamber in the back wall.

large tuff slabs,[578] the loculi inside the chambers could be either left open,[579] closed off with tiles[580] or sealed with tuff blocks.[581]

Apart from the variety in the lay-out of the chambers and the entrance ways and the differences in the closing systems, the construction technique and the level of finishing differed as well. Although the majority of the chamber tombs identified at the above listed sites consisted of subterranean structures, there are also a few examples of (semi-) built chamber tombs.[582] Furthermore, some tombs had been carefully finished, but the rough execution of others resulted in so-called cave-like structures.[583]

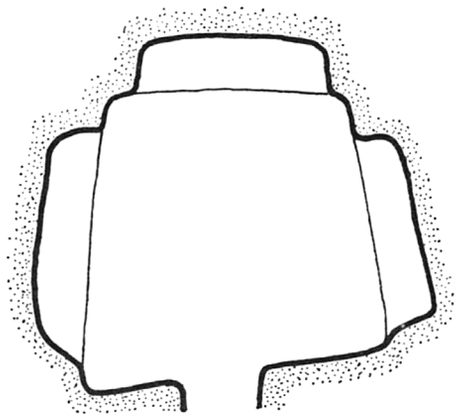


Figure 4.22 Plan of a chamber tomb from Monte Palombo, Capena (Jones 1962, fig. 12).

4.1.2 Other IVB/Archaic grave constructions

Although chamber tombs form the vast majority of the tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period, there are a few tombs with a different architectonic lay-out that have been attributed to this period as well (see fig. 4.27). Simple fossa tombs have been identified at several burial grounds in Latium Vetus, namely at Casale Massima, Tor de'Cenci, Colonna, La Rustica, Satricum, Osteria dell'Osa and possibly at Ficana and Castel di Decima.[584] Loculus tombs have been attested in Latium Vetus and the Faliscan region; they occur at La Rustica, Acqua Acetosa, Ficana, Tor de' Cenci, Rome and Narce[585] and were usually

578 Closing systems consisting of large tuff slabs have been attested at Acqua Acetosa, Casale Massima, Località Volusia, Tor de' Cenci, Fidenae, Corcolle and Falerii.

579 It is often difficult to determine whether loculi had been left open or not, because tiles are not always rendered on published plan drawings of the tombs, suggesting that they had not been present. In addition, the absence of tiles or other closing elements is not necessarily indicative of 'open' loculi; the sepulchral niches may have been closed off with perishable materials (such as wooden planks) that have not been preserved. This has been suggested for some loculi in the chamber tombs at Colle del Forno (Benelli & Santoro 2009, 60).

Possible open loculi have been attested at Fidenae, Acqua Acetosa, Casale Massima, Centocelle, Osteria dell'Osa, Corcolle, Località Torrino, Falerii Veteres and Colle del Forno.

580 Chamber tombs of which the loculi were closed off with tiles have been identified at Fidenae, Acqua Acetosa, Veii, Località Volusia, Falerii, Capena, Nepi, Colle del Forno and Poggio Sommavilla.

At least one of the chamber tombs identified at Fidenae was equipped with a loculus that had been closed off with tiles (di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94).

At Acqua Acetosa - Laurentina most of the 6th and 5th century chamber tombs were equipped with one or more lateral loculi, some of which had been closed off with tiles (Bedini 1980, 59-60).

The use of tiles has been attested at Quattro Fontanili, Monte Michele, Casalaccio and Macchia della Comunità and near the tumuli of Vaccareccia and Monte Oliviero (Drago Troccoli 1997, 256, esp. note 41).

The dromos of chamber tomb 1 at Località Volusia had presumably been furnished with a loculus closed off with tiles (di Gennaro 1990c, 511). Due to severe erosion of the bedrock, the architecture has not been entirely preserved, hindering an exact reconstruction of the architecture.

Tiles have been used to close off some of the loculi of one of the chamber tombs at the *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* at Falerii. In addition, the 6th century chamber tombs at the burial grounds Penna and Valsiarosa were furnished with multiple levels of loculi, which had been closed off with tiles as well (Ceccarelli & Stoddart 2007, 143).

Many of the chamber tombs at the Castellaccio burial ground of Capena were furnished with loculi that had been closed off with tiles as well (Paribeni 1905, 303).

Tiles were being used to close off sarcophagi and to close off benches consisting of tuff blocks inside one of the chamber tombs at Nepi (Rizzo 1996, 484).

Some of the loculi inside the chamber tombs on the slopes of the Colle del Forno hill had been closed off with tiles (Santoro 1977a, fig. 3). A chamber tomb from Poggio Sommavilla was equipped with three loculi (one in each lateral wall and on in the back), which must have been closed off with tiles (Santoro 1981, 71).

581 Examples of tuff closing systems have been found at Poggio Sommavilla (tomb VII, Cristofani Martelli 1977, 14, fig. 2) and Acqua Acetosa.

582 Examples of (semi-) built chamber tombs have been attested at Satricum, Rome, Lavinium, Nepi, and Magliano Sabina.

583 Tomb 1 at Casale Massima had a rough finishing and has therefore been characterised as 'a grotticella' (Bedini 1980, 60). The execution of the two chamber tombs identified at Località Torrino was neither very refined (Bedini 1981, 58).

584 See on these tombs the section *4.3 The grave goods*.

585 See on these tombs the section *4.3 The grave goods*.

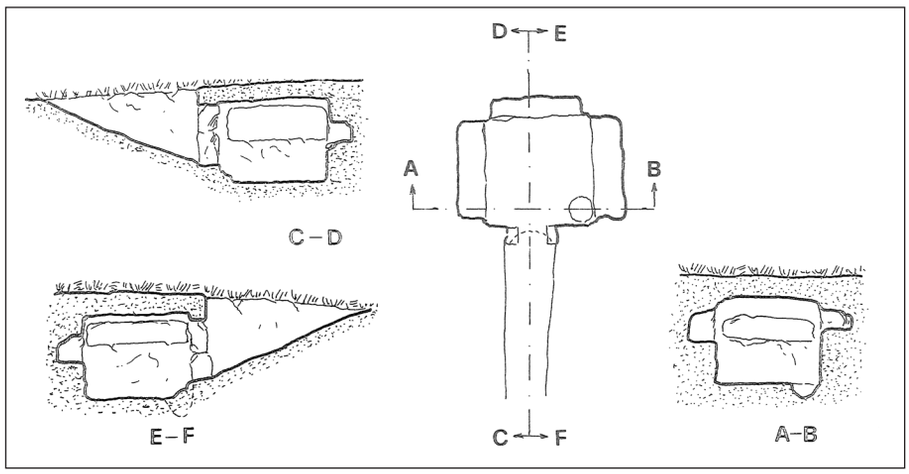


Figure 4.23a Plan and sections of chamber tomb XVII at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 3).

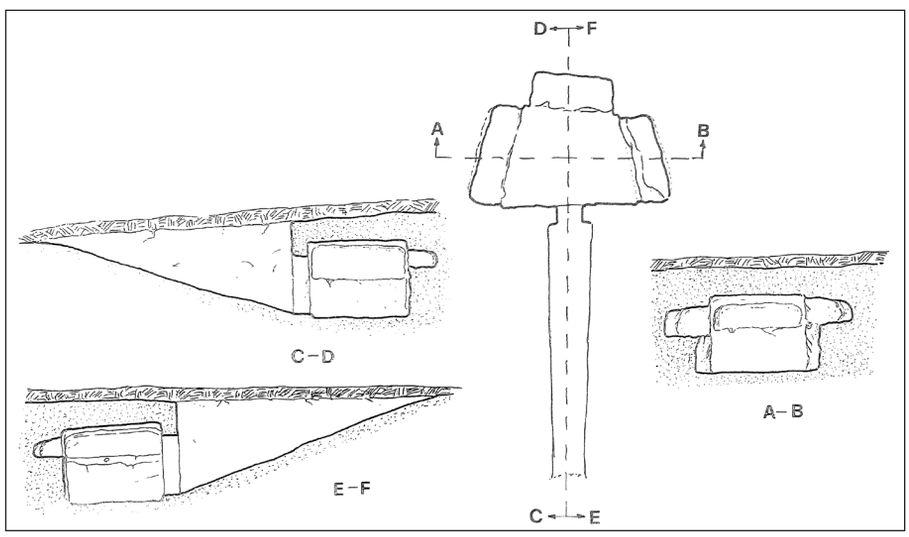


Figure 4.23b Plan and sections of chamber tomb XX at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 13).

closed off with tiles.[586] The exploitation of previously used materials in the closing system of a fossa or *tipo Narce* tomb as attested in some IVB/Archaic tombs at Crustumerium,[587] has only been observed in one tomb at Castel di Decima.[588]

4.1.3 To sum up…

The inventory presented above has shown that the development towards increasingly spacious funerary structures was not unique for Crustumerium. Indeed, the trend has been observed at many other burial grounds, both in Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region and culminated in the introduction of the chamber tomb. The chamber tomb had been introduced in Etruria first and

586 The use of tiles for closing off the niche has been attested at La Rustica, Acqua Acetosa – Laurentina, Ficana, Tor de'Cenci, Rome and Narce.

A few deep 6th-5th century BC fossa tombs at La Rustica were furnished with a loculus that was closed off with tiles (Guiatoli & Zaccagni 1985, 121). The use of tiles has been attested in a number of fossa tombs at Acqua Acetosa that were equipped with a loculus, presumably dating to the 6th or 5th century BC (Bedini 1980, 59-60).

The so-called *tipo C* tombs at Ficana consisted of a shaft with a loculus on the floor level that was closed off with three tiles (Cataldi Dini 1977). The tombs have been attributed to the 6th century BC based on the fact that they intersected some older Orientalising tombs and based on the type of tiles used for the closure of the loculi (Cataldi Dini 1977, 322-326).

A fossa tomb with a lateral loculus at Tor de' Cenci dating to the 6th or 5th century BC was furnished with a tile closing system (Bedini 1990b, 126).

The use of tiles has also been note for graves at Rome (Monte Mario) (Bedini 1990c, 256).

The fossa tombs at the Monte Sariano burial ground at Narce were generally equipped with one or two loculi that had been closed off with tiles (Drago Troccoli 1997, 265). Note that the loculi inside these graves contained cremation burials.

587 See Chapter 3, *Changing closing systems*, especially note 287.

588 A fossa tomb with a deviating orientation was covered with an enormous pile of tuff chunks, among which were several worked blocks. Zevi cites a rectangular roof-shaped fragment with an arch-shaped opening and pieces of a cylindrical *cippo* in the shape of a column (Zevi 1975, 243; Zevi 1976c, 255-256). See on this tomb also the section *4.3 The grave goods*.

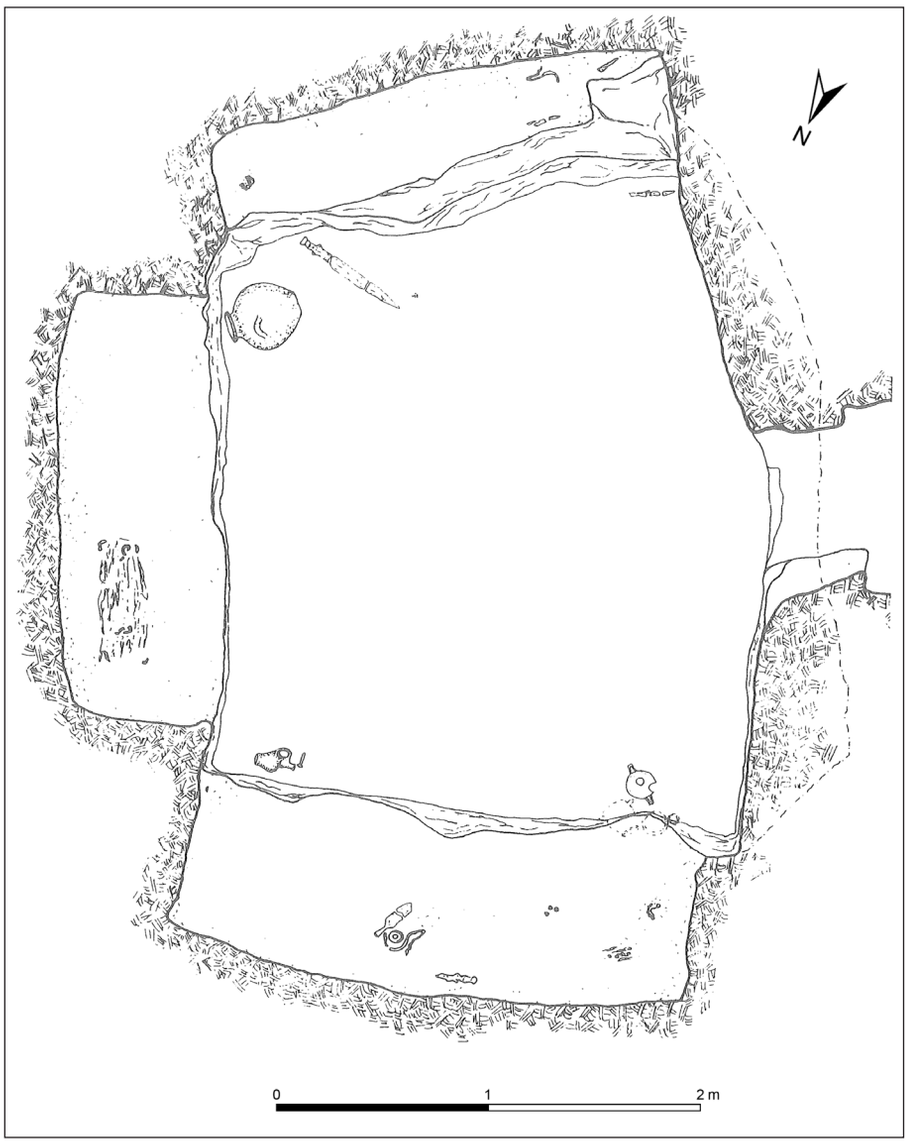


Figure 4.23c Detailed plan of chamber tomb XX at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 14).

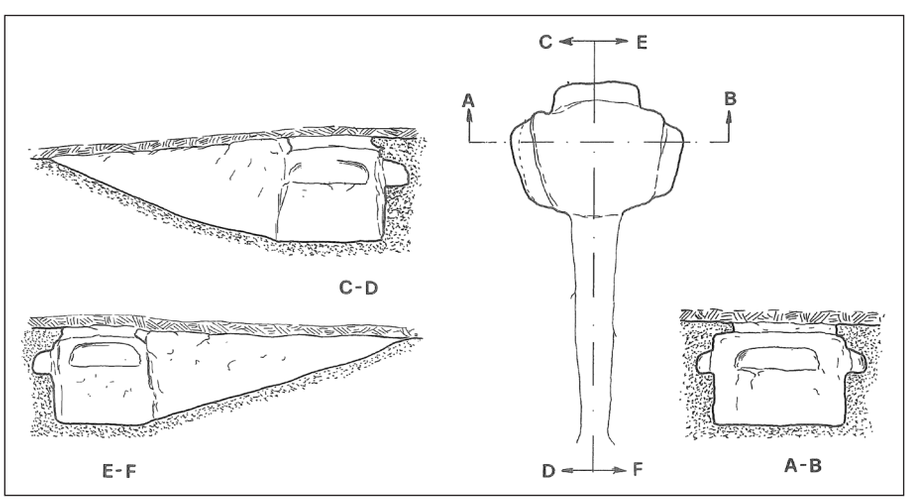


Figure 4.23d Plan and sections of chamber tomb XXI at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 21).

appeared in the other listed regions from about the middle of the 7th century BC onwards.

The overview has accentuated the enormous variety within the architectonic category of the chamber tomb. Not only the architectonic lay-out and the closing systems display a wide range of variants, the construction technique and finishing of the chamber tomb differed considerably from site to site as well. With regard to the construction and finishing of the chamber tombs, we may presume that the geological

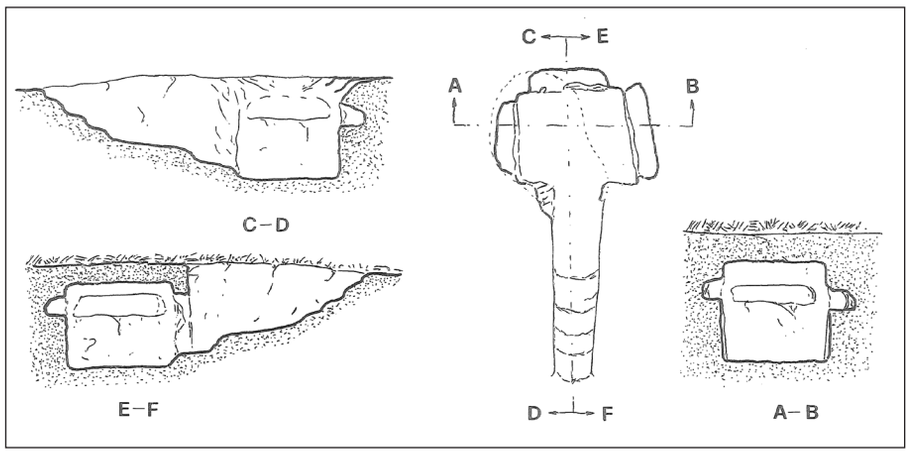


Figure 4.23e Plan and sections of chamber tomb XXII at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 27).

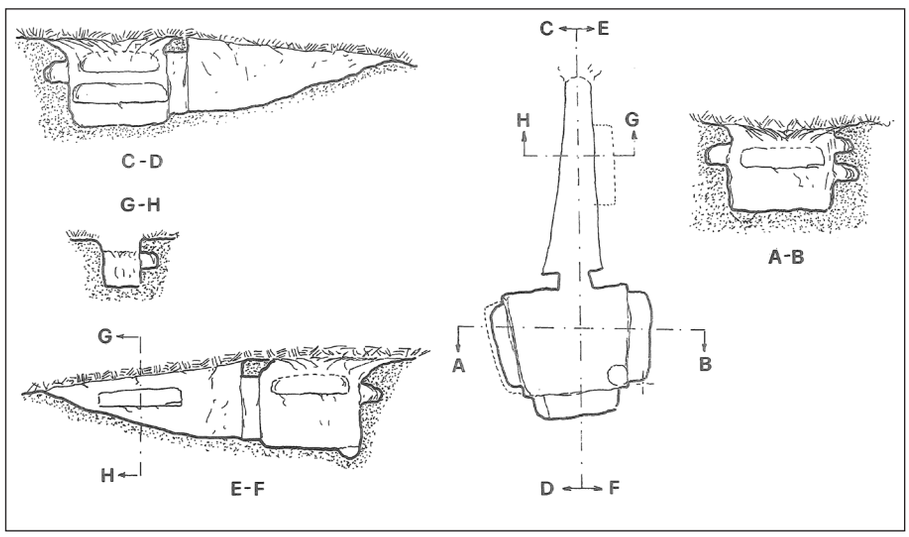


Figure 4.23f Plan and sections of chamber tomb XXIII at Colle del Forno (Santoro 1983, fig. 34).

conditions of the local bedrock had a decisive influence; the poor quality of the tuff at some sites did not allow for a careful finishing,[589] and may even have prompted the creation of semi-built structures, instead of subterranean ones.[590]

An inventory of the variations within the broader category of the chamber tomb reveals that the architectonic type can take on many different shapes and lay-outs. Some variations can possibly be attributed to local predilections.[591] The Crustumerium chamber tombs are, however, most similar to the chamber tombs of Fidenae, Veii, Località Volusia, Colle del Forno and Poggio Sommavilla; the chamber tombs from these sites generally have a long (stepped) dromos, a trapezoidal chamber (with or without loculi) and an entrance that is furnished with stipites.

Chapter 3 has dealt with the changing character of the closing systems at Crustumerium which closed off either the tomb itself or individual elements of the tomb, such as a niche, a loculus or the chamber. It has described how the monumental slabs that had been used until Latial period IVA were often being replaced by piles of (re-used) tuff chunks or tiles around the end of the 7th century BC. Although the use of large slabs to close off individual elements of a tomb has been attested at a few other funerary areas

589 The poor quality of the local tuff bedrock has been noted for several sites. De Lucia Brolli has commented on the variable quality of the tuff at the area of Narce (De Lucia Brolli 1991, 26). Neri states that the morphology of the terrain at the Macchia della Comunità burial ground of Veii was not suitable for the creation of monumental chamber tombs (Neri 2013, 123).

590 Bartoloni *et al.* suggest that the choice for the construction technique of the chamber tombs at Satricum and Lavinium which were both semi-built was prompted by geological conditions of the bedrock at these sites (Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84).

591 The presence of multiple levels of loculi inside a chamber tomb, for example, has only been attested in the Faliscan and the Sabine region (see note 576).

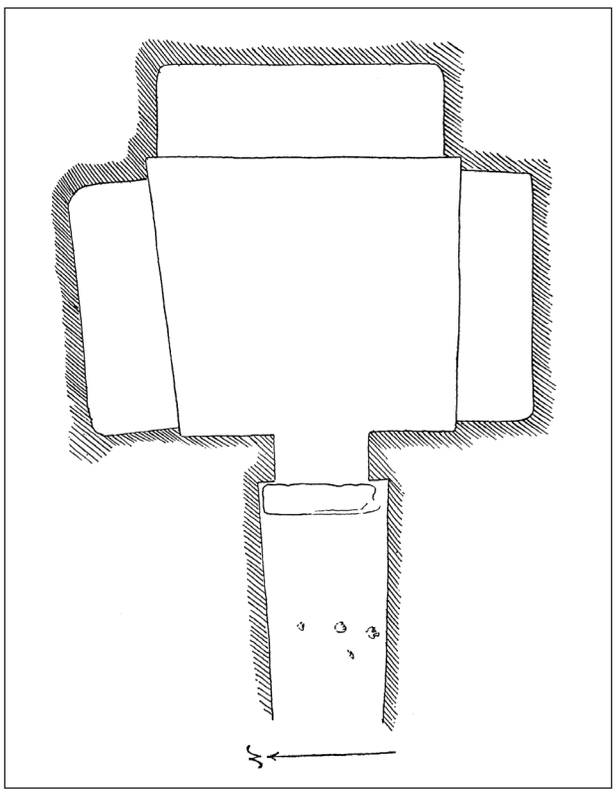


Figure 4.24a Plan of tomb II at Poggio Sommavilla (Santoro 1977, fig. 18).

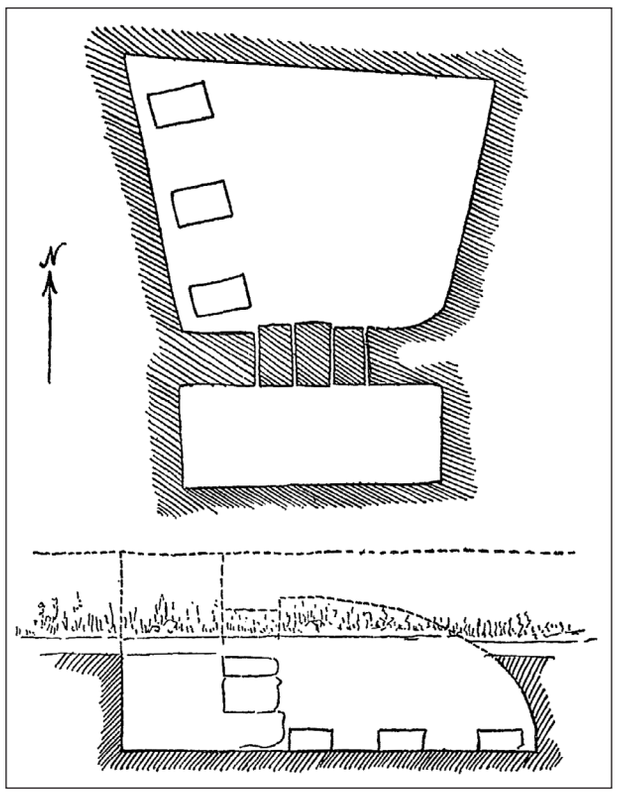


Figure 4.24b Plan of tomb III at Poggio Sommavilla (Santoro 1977, fig. 20).

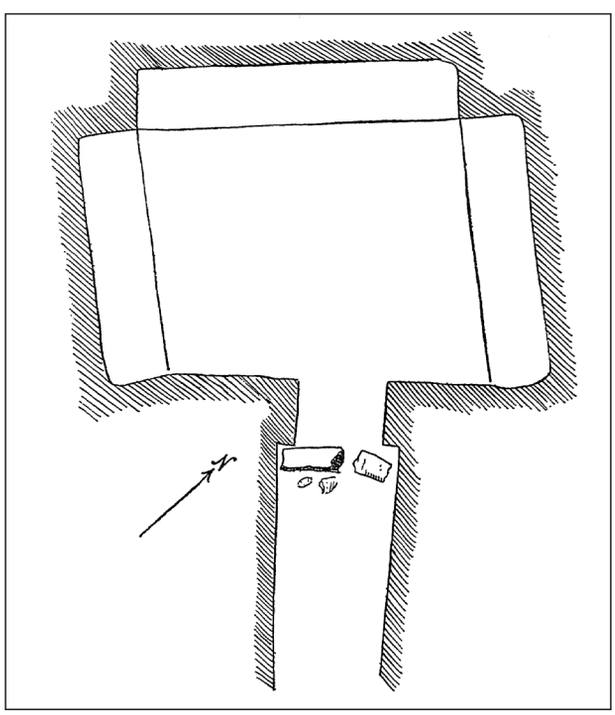


Figure 4.24c Plan of tomb IV at Poggio Sommavilla IV (Santoro 1977, fig. 22).

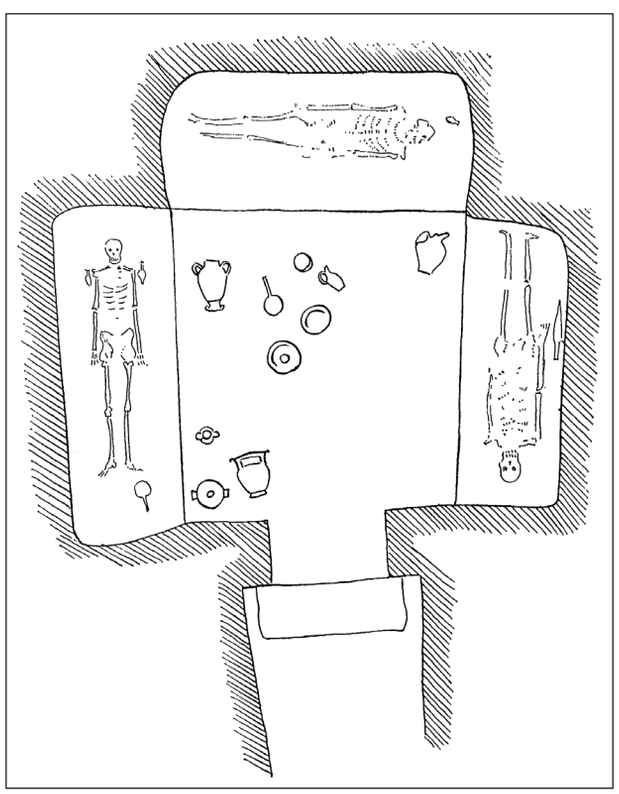


Figure 4.24d Plan of tomb V at Poggio Sommavilla (Santoro 1977, fig. 24).

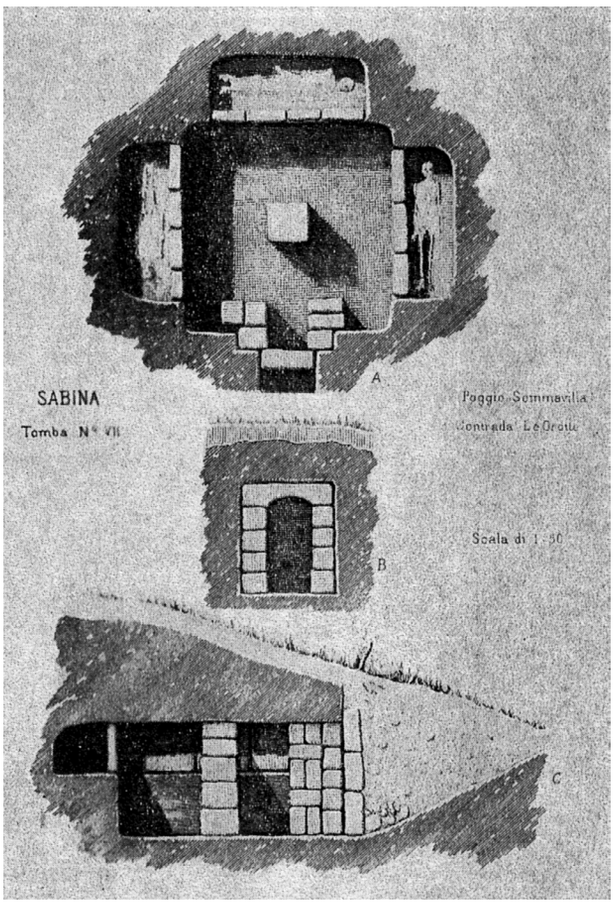


Figure 4.24e Plan of tomb VII at Poggio Sommavilla (Cristofani Martelli 1977, fig. 2).

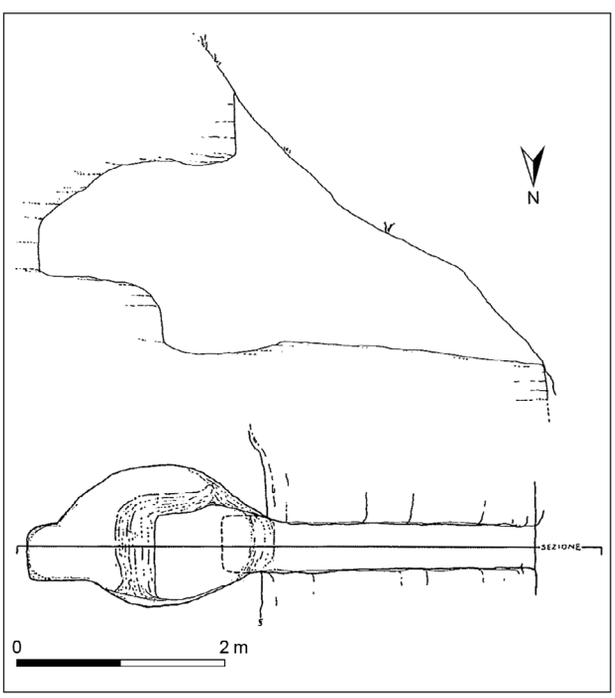


Figure 4.25 Plan of the chamber tomb at Colle S. Maria degli Arci (Bistolfi 1995, fig. 2).

in Latium Vetus, Etruria and the Faliscan region[592], the monumental closing system, as it occurred at Crustumerium, was on the whole rather uncommon. Indeed, the transition towards more rough closing systems, which in some cases even consisted of previously used materials, has not been observed anywhere else. Castel di Decima is the only site that has yielded evidence for the re-use of tuff elements to close off a tomb. The practice of using previously used materials may simply have been overlooked in the funerary studies carried out to date, but it is much more probable that the changing character of the tuff closing systems as observed at Crustumerium represents a unique, local phenomenon, that hardly occurred elsewhere in Central Italy.

Quite to the contrary, the use of tiles to close off a loculus, a practice that has also been frequently attested at Crustumerium, was very widespread and occurred at various burial grounds in Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region, not only in chamber tombs (as at Crustumerium),[593] but also inside the so-called *tipo Narce* tombs which were equipped with a sepulchral niche. Tombs that were furnished with this type of closing system have generally been attributed to the 6th or 5th century BC.

592 At Fidenae, tuff slabs were used to close off apsidal niches in fossa tombs and to seal loculi in *tipo Narce* tombs (di Gennaro 2006b, 230-231; di Gennaro 2013, 11-12, fig. 12).

In addition, di Gennaro cites a *tipo Narce* tomb from Gabii of which the loculus was closed off with tuff slabs. The exact date of this tomb is not known, but di Gennaro states that the tomb dates later than the diffusion of the *tipo Narce* tomb in Etruria (di Gennaro 2013, 12, see fig. 17).

The use of slabs or blocks has further been attested at the Veientine burial grounds Grotta Gramiccia, Monte Michele, Casalaccio, at località La Rotonda and near the tumulus of Vaccareccia (Drago Troccoli 1997, 256). Tuff blocks seem to have been used to close off the loculus of the *Tomba del Guerriero* (tomb 871) at Casale del Fosso (see Drago in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, fig. 8; see also Neri 2013, fig. 6, for an illustration of the practice in a loculus tomb from Macchia della Comunità).

The practice has also been attested at Narce (Barnabei 1894, 134-145) and Falerii where many of the tombs at the Montarano burial ground at Falerii were equipped with two loculi, one on each lateral side (di Gennaro 2007, 167).

The drawings of both the plans and the sections of the tombs suggest that the loculi of three *tipo Narce* tombs from Caere at Vigna Luchetti and Poggio dell'Asino had been closed off with tuff slabs as well (di Gennaro 2007, 171-172, fig. 6 and 7). The same thing goes for the tombs at the Monte Tufello burial ground at Capena (cfr. di Gennaro 2007, fig. 3).

Some of the fossa tombs at Poggio Buco were also furnished with a closing system consisting of tuff slabs (Matteucig 1951, 4-10, fig. 1-2; Pellegrini 1989, 135, fig. 3; Bartoloni 1972, 47, fig. 18).

593 See Chapter 3, *3.2.2 Introduction of new tomb types*. There is only one example of a Monte Michele tomb of which the loculus had been closed off with tiles; i.e. MDB/T320. To date, t*ipo Narce* tombs with a tile closing system have not been identified at Crustumerium.

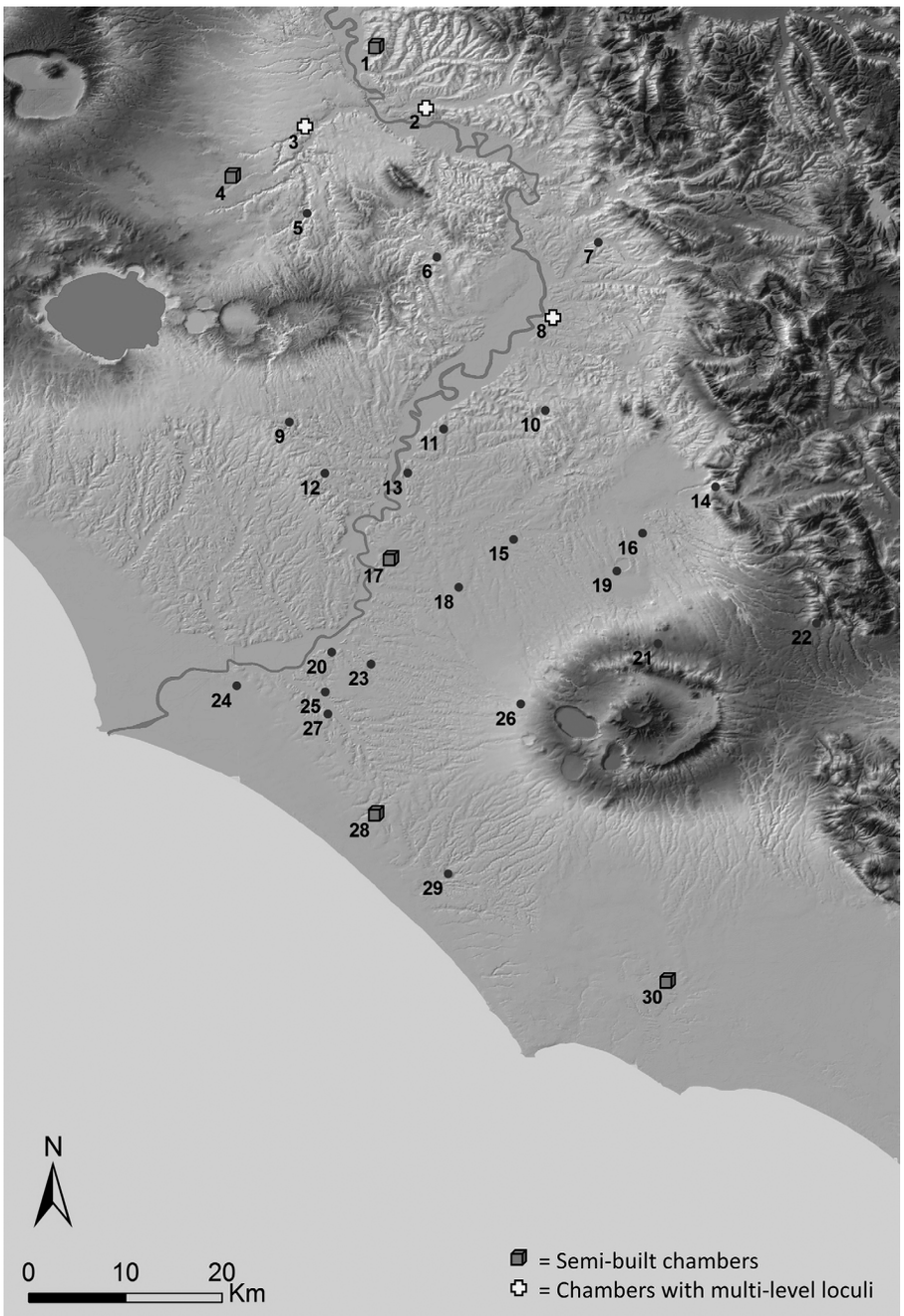


Figure 4.26 Map of Central Italy indicating the locations where chamber tombs with multiple loculi and semi-built chamber tombs have been identified (map author).
1: Magliano Sabina, 2: Poggio Sommavilla, 3: Falerii Veteres, 4: Nepi, 5: Narce, 6: Capena, 7: Cures Sabina, 8: Colle del Forno (Eretum), 9: Veii, 10: Nomentum, 11: Crustumerium, 12: Località Volusia, 13: Fidenae, 14: Tivoli, 15: La Rustica, 16: Corcolle, 17: Rome, 18: Centocelle, 19: Osteria dell'Osa, 20: Località Torrino, 21: Colonna, 22: Palestrina, 23: Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), 24: Ficana, 25: Tor de' Cenci, 26: Marino - Riserva del Truglio, 27: Castel di Decima, 28: Lavinium, 29: Ardea, 30: Satricum.

One could argue that the tiles also form an indication for the re-use of building materials inside the tombs, just as the tuff elements in the closing systems in some tombs at Crustumerium. This topic will be elaborated in Chapter 5.

All in all, one cannot escape from the notion that the use of these large funerary structures had become quite widespread in the 6th century BC. One of the most important perquisites of the newly introduced chamber tomb was that it offered the possibility to bury more than one individual inside a single grave. As will be shown in the third section of this chapter, the innovative architecture entailed a substantial alteration in the execution and the character of the funerary ritual.

Even though the large majority of the tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period consist of chamber tombs, there is also a small number fossa and *tipo Narce* tombs dating to the 6th or 5th century BC. These tombs have generally been attributed to this period, based on the fact that they (almost) completely lacked grave gifts. The tombs occur almost exclusively on the burial grounds of Latium Vetus, but have been attested in the Faliscan region as well. Whilst most of the tombs contained inhumation burials, there are also examples of 'poor' cremation graves.

The inventory of the Central Italian tombs presented in this section evokes a general observation; it has

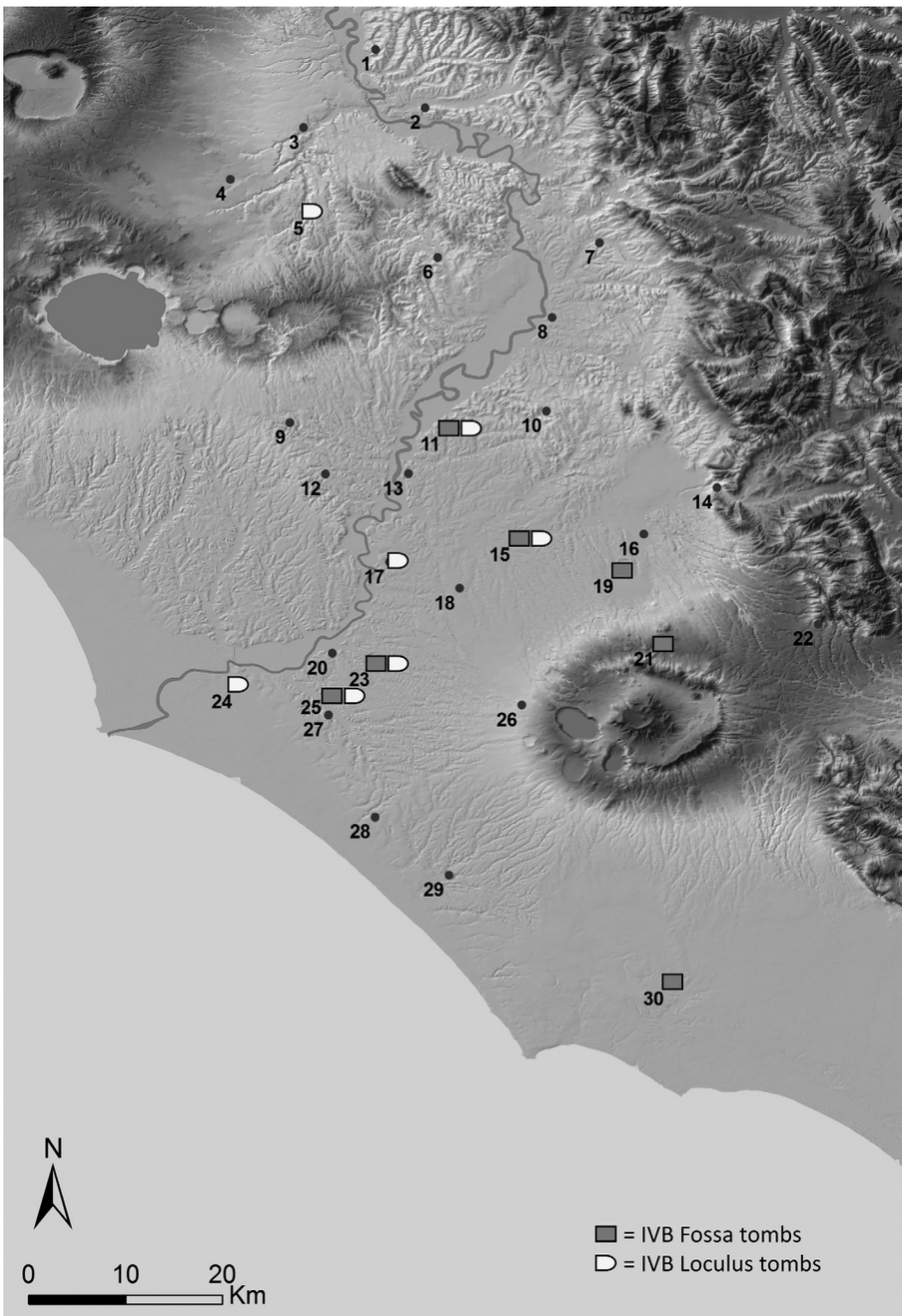


Figure 4.27 Map of Central Italy indicating the locations where IVB/Archaic fossa and loculus tombs have been identified (map author).
1: Magliano Sabina, 2: Poggio Sommavilla, 3: Falerii Veteres, 4: Nepi, 5: Narce, 6: Capena, 7: Cures Sabina, 8: Colle del Forno (Eretum), 9: Veii, 10: Nomentum, 11: Crustumerium, 12: Località Volusia, 13: Fidenae, 14: Tivoli, 15: La Rustica, 16: Corcolle, 17: Rome, 18: Centocelle, 19: Osteria dell'Osa, 20: Località Torrino, 21: Colonna, 22: Palestrina, 23: Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), 24: Ficana, 25: Tor de' Cenci, 26: Marino - Riserva del Truglio, 27: Castel di Decima, 28: Lavinium, 29: Ardea, 30: Satricum.

been shown that the number of graves that can be attruibuted to the IVB/Archaic period is very limited, especially in comparison to the large number of tombs dated to Latial period IVA. The incongruence in the number of tombs attributed to the subsequent periods is probably mainly due to the fact that many of the IVB/Archaic tombs have not been published, because in the absence of grave gifts, they cannot be dated.[594] The decrease of the funerary wealth will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

4.2 Placement in the burial ground

The analysis of the spatial lay-out of the IVB/Archaic tombs at Crustumerium presented in Chapter 4 has shown that they were distributed over the burial grounds according to two different distribution patterns; whilst the later dating tombs at Sasso Bianco and Monte Del Bufalo were neatly nested within the existing distribution of graves, resulting in frequent intersections of older tombs by the younger graves, the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs at Cisterna Grande did not interfere with older tomb structures, simply because the area had hardly been used prior to the creation of the chamber tombs and older tombs were very scarce. However, the fact that Cisterna Grande was located so close to the Monte Del Bufalo burial

594 For example Colonna (1977) and Ampolo (1984a, 1984b).

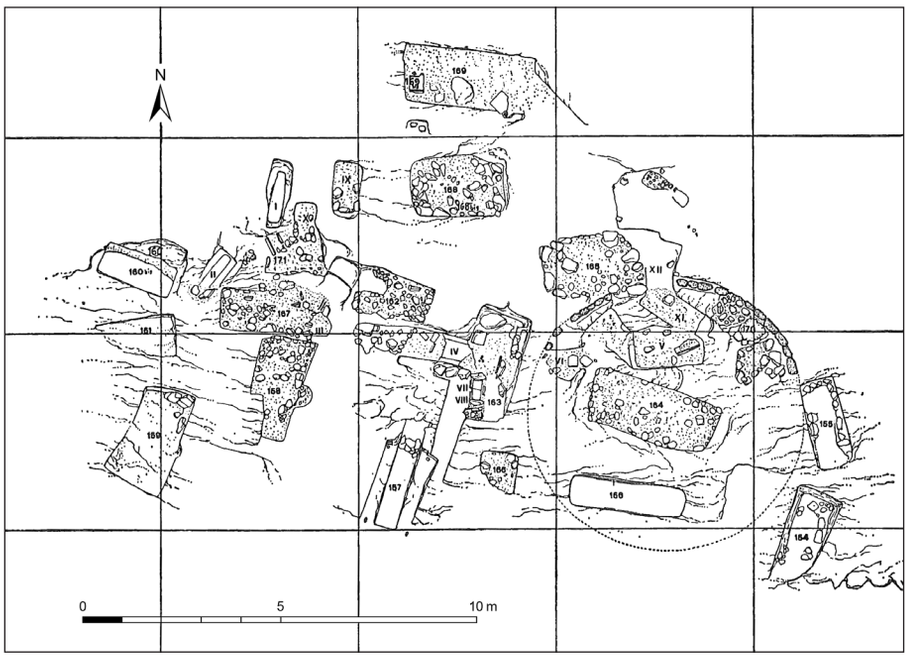


Figure 4.28 Map of the tombs at Casale Massima, Acqua Acetosa (Bedini 1980b, fig. 1).

ground and may even have formed an integral part of it,[595] suggests that we should consider the burial ground as a peripherical location, and not so much as a *new cemetery*.

The inventory of the spatial patterning of the IVB/Archaic tombs at other burial grounds in Central Italy provided below will show that both patterns occur; later dating tombs with a peripherical have been attested in Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria, the Faliscan region and the Sabina area, whilst IVB/Archaic tombs nested within an existing distribution have only been identified in Latium Vetus and Southern Etruria. The following section also provides a comparison between the orientation of the later dating tombs and older ones.

Some of the tombs under study have surfaced in small-scale excavation projects and/or on isolated locations. The absence of (earlier) dating tombs in their (direct) vicinity, hinders a comparative analysis of the spatial distribution and orientation of these tombs. These sites have therefore not been taken into account in the studies presented above.[596]

4.2.1 Tombs inside existing distributions

Examples of IVB/Archaic tombs that were nested within the existing distribution of graves have been encountered in Latium Vetus (at Casale Massima, Ficana, Marino - Riserva del Truglio and Osteria dell'Osa) and Southern Etruria (Macchia della Comunità burial ground of Veii).

At the burial ground of Casale Massima two Latial period III tombs were located inside a 7 m wide circle of grey tuff stones (see fig. 4.28). A number tombs dating to the 8th/7th century BC were found within the circle itself, others were situated to the west of it.[597] The latter were for a large part intersected by 6th and 5th century BC tombs that lacked a corredo.[598] The two chamber tombs that surfaced at this location intersected older tombs as well.[599] They date to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th century BC.[600]

Excavations at the burial ground of Ficana have revealed 18 tombs, dating between the middle of the 7th century BC and the Roman period.[601] The tombs were clustered in small groups that were situated at some distance from each other. Each group consisted of tombs of various types and periods that frequently intersected each other. It is believed that the clustering of graves was the result of the now lost, original lay-out of the landscape, forcing the creation of tombs at small, dedicated areas.[602] There are several examples of so-called type C fossa tombs intersecting graves of the older types A and B.[603] The *tipo C*

595 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 3.
596 The tombs from Casale Massima and Località Torrino have not been taken into account in the study of the placement in the burial ground.
597 Bedini 1980, 58-59.
598 Bedini 1980, 59-60.
599 Bedini 1983, 33-34.
600 Bedini 1983, 33-34.
601 Cataldi Dini 1977, 316, 320, 328.
602 Cataldi Dini 1977, 318.
603 Cataldi Dini 1977, 322-327.

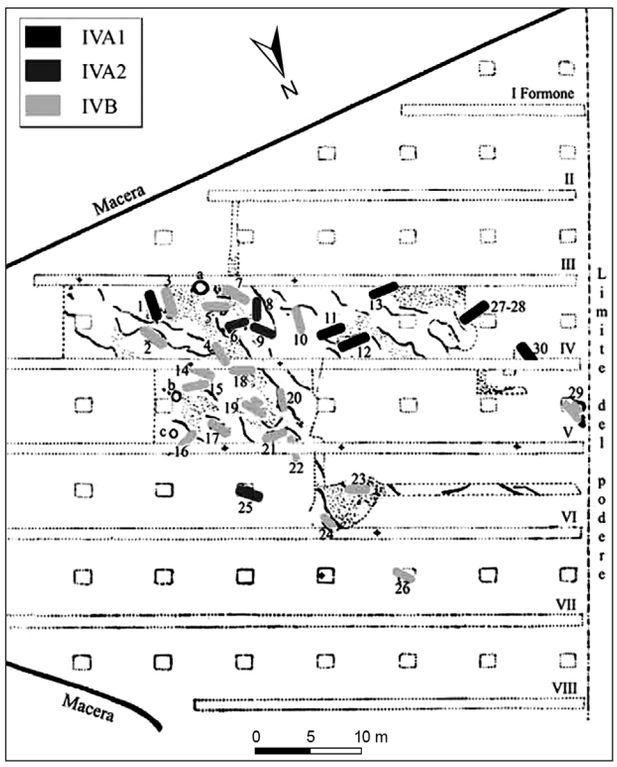


Figure 4.29 Map of the tombs at Marino - Riserva del Truglio, indicating IVA1, IVA2 and IVB tombs (Bartoloni, Taloni & Nizzo 2009, fig. 3).

tombs date later than Orientalising tombs they partially intersect.[604]

Investigations at Marino - Riserva del Truglio have yielded about 30 graves, presumably representing only a small part of the entire burial ground. The four fossa tombs which have been attributed to Latial period IVB were positioned in between the older graves, but without intersecting them (see fig. 4.29).[605]

Four tombs at the burial ground of Osteria dell'Osa which can possibly be attributed to the 6th century BC based on the fact that they lacked funerary gifts, were located within the limits of the burial ground (see fig. 4.30). Three of these tombs were situated inside the northern cluster; two of them had an orientation that was similar to that of the surrounding graves,[606] one tomb was directed perpendicular to the tombs in the vicinity and partially cut two older tombs.[607] Tomb 61had been dug out in the dromos of chamber tomb 62. It contained no objects and has been attributed to Latial period IVB.[608]

At the Macchia della Communità burial ground of Veii the later dating chamber tombs were also positioned in between a number of existing tomb structures (see fig. 4.31).[609]

4.2.2 Tombs in peripherical locations

Later dating tombs that were spatially clearly distinct from the older grave constructions have been encountered at several burial grounds in Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria and the Faliscan region. Since the Sabine region has yielded very few burial grounds, let alone burial grounds with an extended chronology, a comparison between the spatial patterning of earlier and later dating tombs is unwarranted.

A spatial division of tombs which are chronologically and/or architecturally differentiated has been attested on the Latial burial grounds Castel di Decima, Fidenae, Osteria dell'Osa and Corcolle.

Waarsenburg has noted that the distribution of graves at Castel di Decima does not show a topographical development; the tombs from Latial period III and IV were situated in the same small burial plot, clustered in groups of three to five tombs.[610] However, the tombs that did not contain any grave gifts and therefore possibly pertain to Latial period IVB[611] had a more isolated position (see fig. 4.32).[612]

The burial ground Tenuta Radicicoli at Fidenae seems to have been divided into three different areas; the top of the hill was exclusively occupied by fossa tombs pertaining to Latial period IVA, whereas later dating chamber tombs were only found on the slope of the hill. Two *tipo* Narce tombs, one of which dates to the beginning of the 7th century BC, were situated in between these two areas.[613]

Chamber tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa, dating to Latial period IVB, is another example of a spatially distinct latere dating tomb; it was situated on the eastern side of the south-eastern tomb group (see fig.4.31).[614]

At the burial ground of Corcolle the tombs were ordered according to their architectonic lay-out. A group of fossa tombs was located on the plateau, delimited by a wall of rectangular blocks and a road on the western side. The tombs had been cut out in the tuff bedrock and lacked a corredo. Their date is unfortunately not specified.[615] The chamber tombs at

604 Cataldi Dini 1977, 326-328.
605 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 71, fig. 3.
606 Being tomb 210 and 211 (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 872-873).
607 Tomb 405 partially cut tomb 314 and 404. See section *4.1.2 Other IVB/Archaic grave constructions* for a debate on the date of these tombs.
608 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 844.
609 Neri 2013, fig. 3.
610 Waarsenburg 1995, 316; Zevi 1977.
611 See *4.1.2 Other IVB/Archaic grave constructions.*
612 Waarsenburg 1995, 316.
613 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94.
614 See Bietti Sestieri 1992a, plate 4.
615 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 120-123.

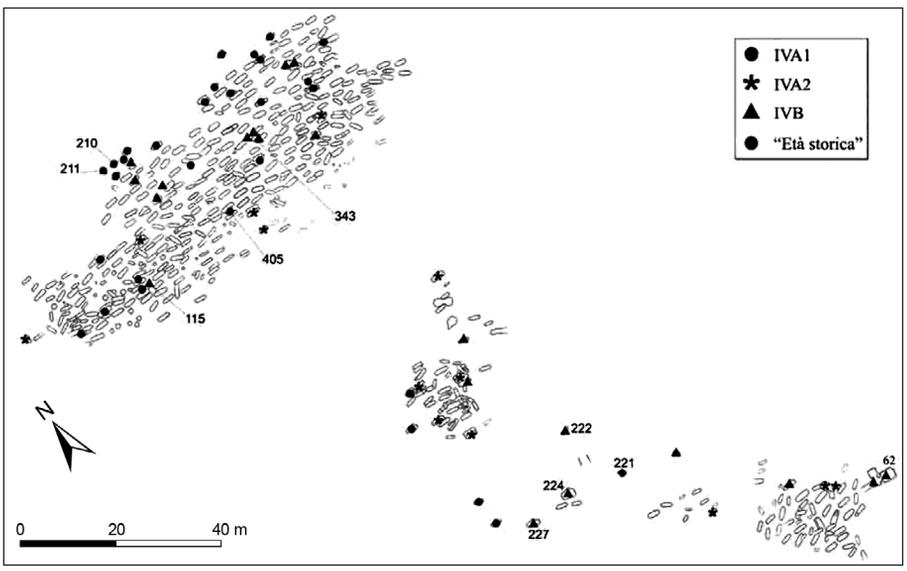


Figure 4.30 Map of the tombs at Osteria dell Osa, indicating IVA1, IVA2, IVB and 'historical' tombs (Bartoloni, Taloni & Nizzo 2009, fig. 1).

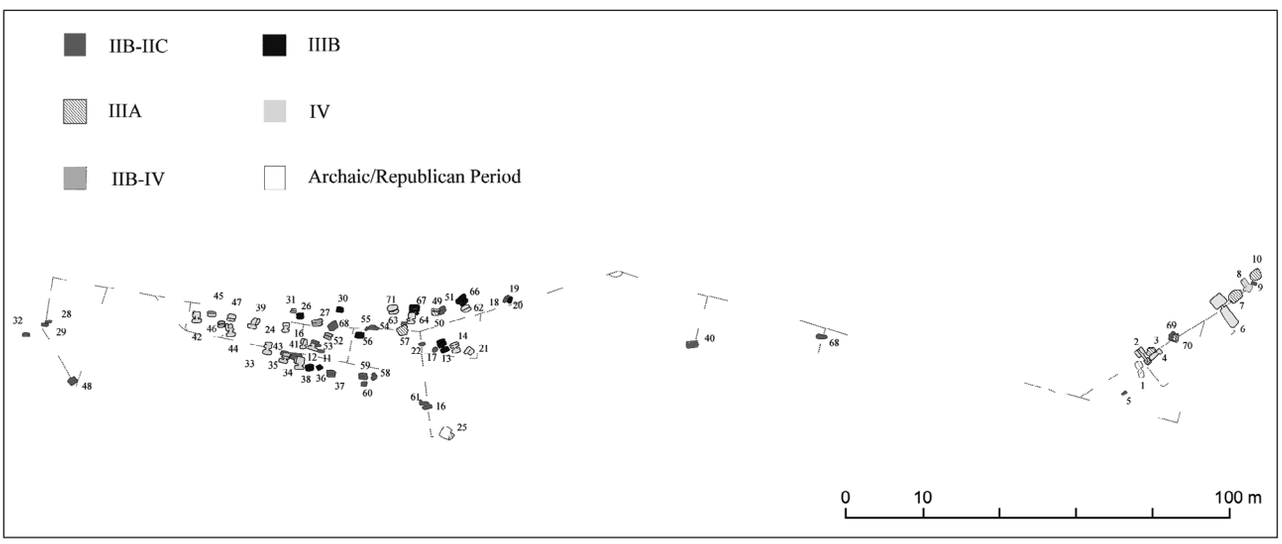


Figure 4.31 Map of the tombs at Macchia della Comunita, Veii, indicating IIB-IIC, IIIA, IIIB-IV, IIIB, IV and Archaic/Republican tombs (Neri in press, fig. 3).

Corcolle were situated on the slope of the hill and were in use between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 3rd century BC; at least two of the chamber tombs could be dated to the second quarter or middle of the 6th century with a reuse in the Hellenistic period.[616]

On the Southern Etruscan burial ground Casale del Fosso of Veii, which was in use from the 10th/9th century BC to the 6th century,[617] the tomb distribution is also based on chronology. The oldest *pozzo* graves tombs were situated in the centre of the burial ground, surrounded by the later dating fossa tombs (see fig. 4.33).[618] The chamber tombs, dating between the beginning of the 7th century BC and the beginning of the 6th century BC,[619] were located on the slopes of the hill, most of them grouped together on the southern extremity of the funerary area,[620] possibly indicating the limits of the burial ground.[621]

A spatial distinction between architectonically and chronologically differing tombs has also been observed in the Faliscan region, namely at the Le Saliere burial ground of Capena. The fossa tombs were situated on the top of the hill, whilst the chamber tombs were predominantly located on its southern slopes.[622]

616 Palombi 2013; Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 123.
617 De Santis in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 31.
618 Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 63-64.
619 Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77, note 59.
620 Buranelli 1981, 39, fig. 7; De Santis in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 31; Buranelli *et al.* 1997, fig. 2.
621 Drago *et al.* 1997, 88, note 10.
622 Gazzetti 1992, 19, fig. 9.

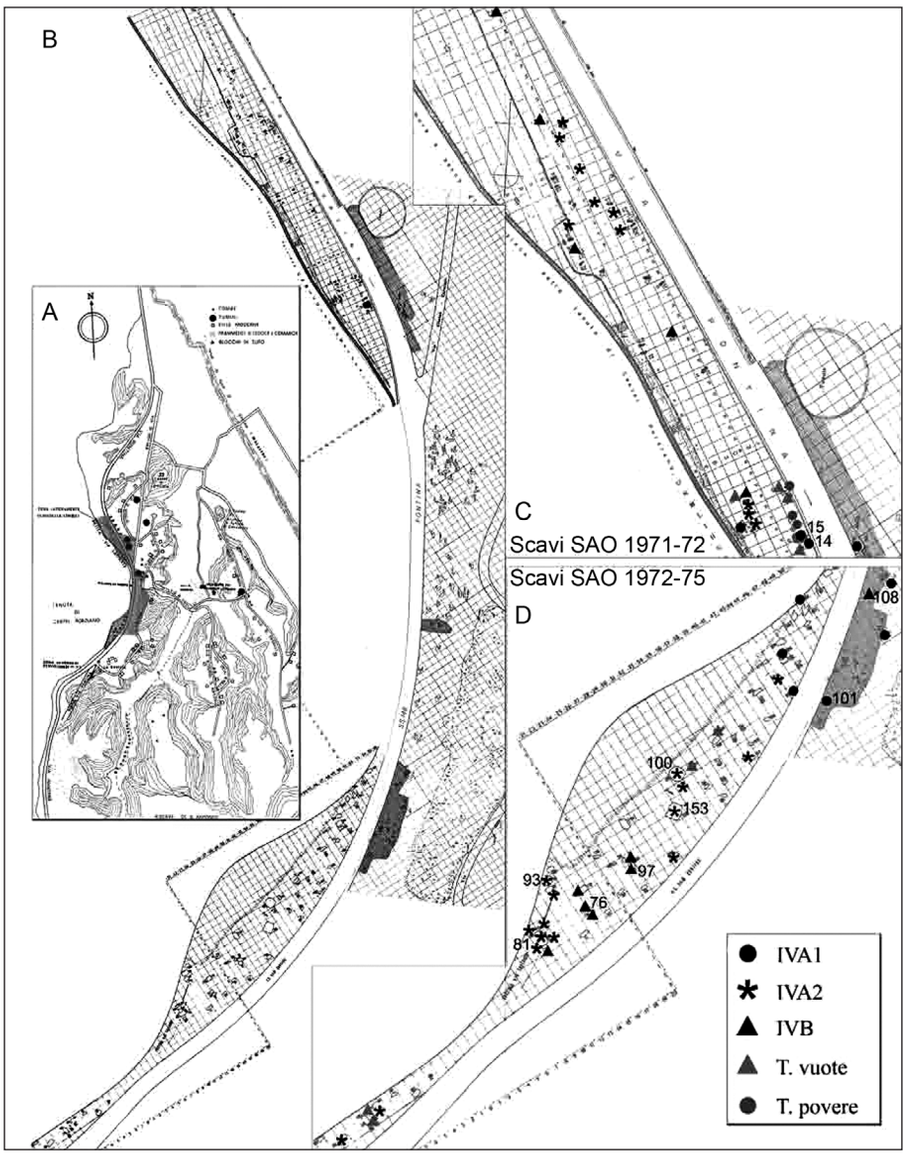


Figure 4.32 Map of the tombs at Castel di Decima, indicating IVA1, IVA2 and IVB tombs (Bartoloni, Taloni & Nizzo 2009, fig. 2).

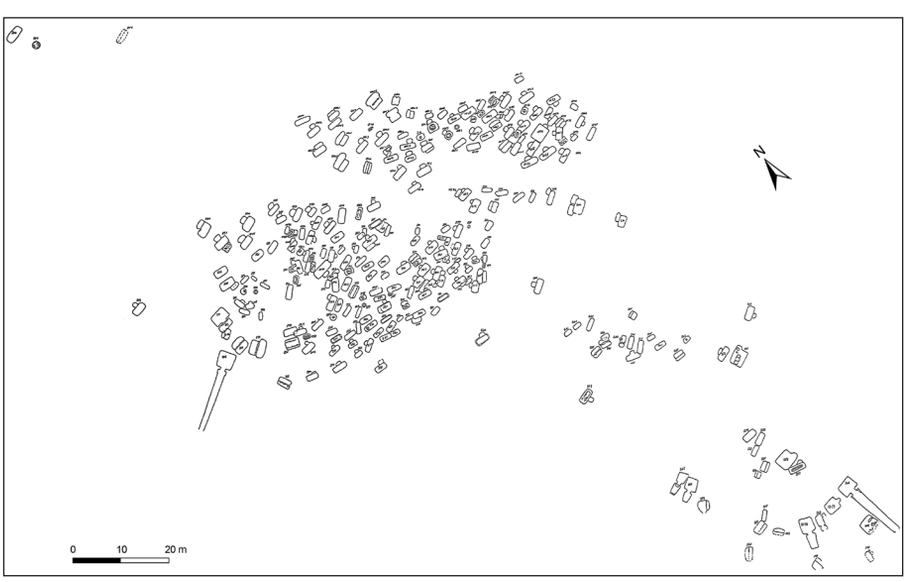


Figure 4.33 Overview of the burial ground Casale del Fosso, Veii (Buranelli et al. 1997, fig. 1).

4.2.3 Orientation of later tombs compared to that of older ones

Chapter 4 has inventoried how the orientation of the IVB/Archaic tombs differed from the older tombs at Crustumerium. As regards the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, it has been found that the orientation of the later tombs was much more varied than that of the younger tombs. While the IVB/Archaic tombs were most frequently directed towards the NW, their orientation ranged from the S/SW to the E, whereas the IVA tombs were mostly directed towards the NE and NNE, ranging only between the WNW and the ESE.

Unfortunately, the detailed information regarding the orientation of the graves that we have for Crustumerium, is not often made available in publications covering other burial grounds. The published information regarding the tomb orientation at Ficana, Castel di Decima and Osteria dell'Osa reveals that the (presumed) later dating tombs at all three burial grounds have an orientation that deviates from or is perpendicular to that of the older tombs at the same location.[623]

At some burial grounds the orientation of the later dating tombs was not so much determined by the presence of older tombs, but rather by features in the landscape, such as hills[624] or roads.[625]

4.2.4 To sum up…

As has been described in Chapter 4, the distribution of the IVB/Archaic tombs on the burial grounds of Crustumerium was organised according to two different principles; whereas the tombs at Monte Del Bufalo and Sasso Bianco were situated within an existing distribution, the IVB/Archaic tombs at Cisterna Grande have been situated at a pherical location, in an area that had hardly been exploited in earlier times.

Unfortunately, many of the tombs from other burial grounds in Central Italy pertaining to the IVB/Archaic period that have been cited in this chapter have surfaced in isolated excavations; only a limited number was discovered during extensive investigations of a (large part of a) burial ground. In addition, very few publications provide distribution maps displaying tombs of both the IVB/Archaic period and older periods, hindering an overall analysis of the way the late 7th and full 6th century BC tombs were generally related to the existing spatial distribution of tombs, let alone a comparative study of the differences and similarities in the spatial lay-out of the various burial grounds in Central Italy.

Leaving the limitations of the dataset aside, we can state that the later tombs on the burial grounds of Central Italy were organised according to two distribution patterns outlined for Crustumerium; the tombs were either situated on a perpherical location that was spatially distinct from the older tombs, or they were nested within the existing distribution, occasionally interfering with the older grave structures.

We may assume that the two distribution patterns form a material reflection of different formation processes, resulting from diverse social motivations. Whereas the tombs that were neatly fitted within the existing distribution may reflect a desire to stress the social or familial ties to previously interred individuals, situating tombs on a pristine area may represent a conscious choice prompted by other (social) considerations. Chapter 5 will elaborate upon the phenomena at play in the spatial distribution of the later dating tombs.

4.3 The grave goods

The rapid decrease of the funerary wealth, starting towards the end of the 7th century BC as observed at Crustumerium, has been attested at many other burial grounds in Central Italy; it has not only been observed in Latium Vetus, the phenomenon occurred in (southern) Etruria as well and has been attested in

623 The orientation of one of the *tipo B* fossa tombs at Ficana is perpendicular to that of an older, Orientalising fossa tomb it partially intersects (Cataldi Dini 1977, 321). The *tipo B* graves cannot be dated precisely, but should date later than the Orientalising *tipo A* tombs, and earlier than the *tipo D* tombs, attributed to the 6th/5th century BC (Cataldi Dini 1977, 321-322).

At Castel di Decima, a number of tombs that lacked funerary gifts had an orientation that was perpendicular to that of the 'normal' tombs, which generally had an E/W (or NE/SW) orientation and date to the last quarter of the 8th until the end of the 7th century BC (Zevi 1975; Zevi 1976c, 253-255). Based on the absence of tomb contents and the deviating orientation, the tombs may be attributed to the IVB/Archaic period. See also the section *Decreasing funerary wealth - Latium Vetus*. on these tombs.

As regards the four tombs that can be attributed to the 6th century BC At Osteria dell'Osa (see section *Decreasing funerary wealth - Latium Vetus*. for a discussion regarding the date of these tombs), two of them had an orientation that was similar to that of the surrounding graves (being tomb 210 and 211), one tomb was directed perpendicular to the tombs in its vicinity (being tomb 405). See also note 84 on their location on the burial ground.

624 The chamber tombs at Località Volusia and Colle del Forno were situated on the slope of a hill. The dromoi of these tombs were pointing down, towards the valley.

625 At Corcolle and Tor de' Cenci the presence of roads may have played a decisive role in the location of the tombs (Reggiani *et al.* 1998: 122-123, Bedini 1990b, 122).

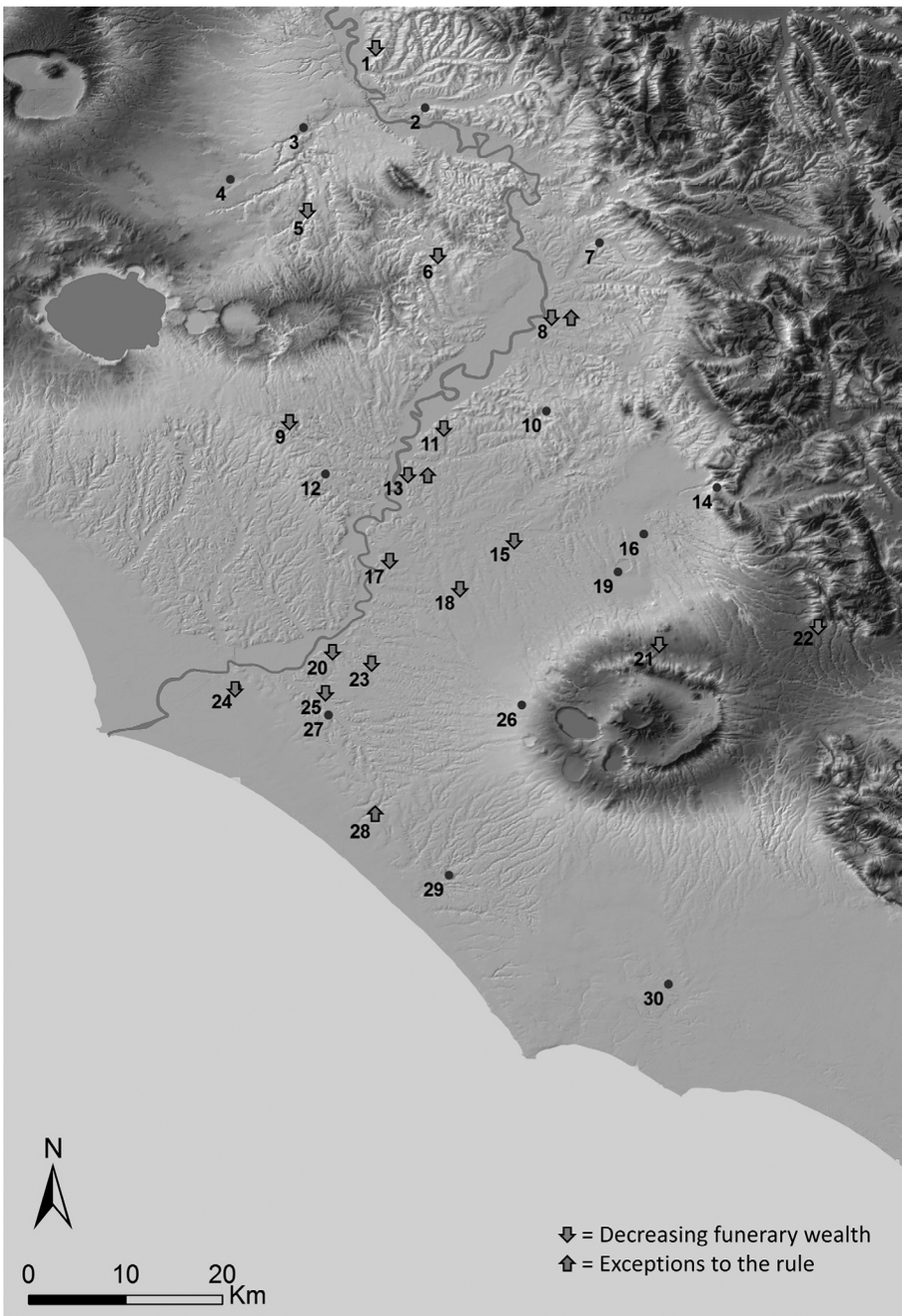


Figure 4.34 Map of Central Italy indicating the locations where a decrease of the funerary wealth has been attested and the exceptions to the rule (map author).
1: Magliano Sabina, 2: Poggio Sommavilla, 3: Falerii Veteres, 4: Nepi, 5: Narce, 6: Capena, 7: Cures Sabina, 8: Colle del Forno (Eretum), 9: Veii, 10: Nomentum, 11: Crustumerium, 12: Località Volusia, 13: Fidenae, 14: Tivoli, 15: La Rustica, 16: Corcolle, 17: Rome, 18: Centocelle, 19: Osteria dell'Osa, 20: Località Torrino, 21: Colonna, 22: Palestrina, 23: Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), 24: Ficana, 25: Tor de' Cenci, 26: Marino - Riserva del Truglio, 27: Castel di Decima, 28: Lavinium, 29: Ardea, 30: Satricum.

the Faliscan region (and occasionally in the Sabine region) (see fig. 4.34).[626]

Because very few burial grounds that were in use during Latial period IVA *and* the IVB/Archaic period have been extensively investigated and because even fewer have been fully published, it is very difficult to make a truthful reconstruction of the way the character of the assemblage of grave gifts changed throughout this area during this time span.

Unfortunately, much information regarding the later period derives from isolated excavation projects that have investigated only a limited number of graves. In addition, publications of burial grounds that do cover both periods usually focus on the earlier phase in which gift giving was still widely practiced, possibly because the tombs that do contain elaborate sets of funerary gifts are still considered to be of more relevance.

Since the present study, on the contrary, aims at shedding light on the period in which the custom of gift-giving had ceased, the following section inventories the available information regarding

626 Although the lay-out and contents of the late 7th and full 6th century BC tombs in the Sabine region present a lot of similarities with those from Latium Vetus, we cannot speak of them in terms of a *decreasing* funerary wealth, since Sabine tombs predating this period are scarce.

the decreasing funerary wealth in Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria, the Faliscan region and the Sabine region, listing both the tombs with a limited number of grave gifts and the tombs that have been attributed to the IVB/Archaic period based on the fact that they were completely deprived of accompanying objects.

In Latium Vetus, a decrease of the funerary wealth has been observed at the burial grounds of Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), at Località Torrino, Tor de' Cenci, Fidenae, Colonna, La Rustica, Ficana, Palestrina, Centocelle, Satricum and Rome, and possibly also at Castel di Decima and Osteria dell'Osa. The following section will zoom in on the decrease of the funerary wealth at a number of these sites.[627]

The burial ground of Acqua Acetosa was in use between Latial period IIB and IV and contained about 140 tombs,[628] grouped into five grave circles, each consisting of a large, central pseudo-chamber tomb containing an elaborate set of grave goods, surrounded by tombs that held only a single vase or no object at all.[629] It is stated that the funerary wealth decreased at Acqua Acetosa from the last quarter of the 7th century BC onwards,[630] but details regarding the characteristics of the later tombs have so far not been published. We do know, however, that the contents of the Latial period IV tombs were comparable to those at other Latial burial grounds, consisting of elaborate banqueting assemblages and abundant sets of personal objects and ornaments.[631] A number of tombs in the surroundings of Acqua Acetosa that date to Latial period IVB/Archaic period do provide us with some more detailed information regarding the characteristics of the later graves at this site. The two chamber tombs that have been identified near the Fosso di Acqua Acetosa were both deprived of funerary gifts.[632] Based on the ceramic fragments found inside the filling of one of the tombs, both graves have been attributed to the 6th/5th century BC.[633] Two other chambers tombs that have been identified immediately north of the defensive system of the proto-historic settlement of Acqua Acetosa were also very poor in terms of their content.[634] They have been dated to the 5th and 6th/5th century respectively.[635]

Investigations at Casale Massima (located close to Acqua Acetosa) yielded two chamber tombs which both contained only one grave gift; the filling of chamber tomb 1 yielded a miniature olla, dating to the 6th or 5th century BC,[636] tomb 2 contained no more than a miniature *pentola*.[637] Both chamber tombs have been dated to the end of the 6th – full 5th century BC.[638] Apart from the chamber tombs, several other tomb types have been identified as well, namely a few simple fossa tombs, tombs with a lateral loculus closed off with tiles, tombs *a cassone di tegole* and tombs *a suggrundarium*.[639] Based on the absence of funerary gifts and the type of tiles, these tombs have also been ascribed to the 6th/5th century BC.

One of the chamber tombs identified at Località Torrino forms a good illustration of the cease of gift-giving in the period under study. Tomb 2 contained a total of eleven burials, dispersed over four small *celle*. One *cella* yielded a collection of 39 fragmented vessels, dating to the end of the 7th century BC,[640] which was mixed with the skeletal remains of three different individuals. It is clear that the ceramics and the skeletal material derived from elsewhere in the tomb and that they had been heaped up inside this room to enable subsequent depositions in the other *celle*.[641] Since the tomb yielded hardly any personal

627 Palestrina, Satricum and Rome will not be dealt with in detail, because these sites do not provide detailed information regarding this phenomenon. Funerary evidence is very scarce at Palestrina for the period after the middle of the 6th century BC, suggesting a transformation of the burial customs in this period (Quilici 1992, 63; Naso 1990, 251; Colonna 1977, 149-151).

With regard to Satricum, Waarsenburg has proposed that the 'empty' graves possibly date to the 7th century BC (Waarsenburg 1995, 316). An example of an empty tomb is depicted on plate 21). Colonna suspects that people were being interred without a corredo at the site from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards (Colonna 1976b, 325).

Several scholars have noted a decrease of the funerary wealth at Rome (Colonna 1977; Naso 1991; Bartoloni *et al.* 2009; Ampolo 1984b). The absence of material dating to the 6th and 5th century had already been noted by Pinza (Pinza 1912, 24-26).

628 Bedini 1984a, 377.

629 Bedini 1984a, 378-380.

630 Bedini 1984a, 382.

631 Bedini 1984a, 377.

632 Unfortunately, no skeletal material has been preserved.

633 Bedini 1983, 29.

634 The first tomb, which contained a child burial, yielded no more than a glass bead; the other tomb was completely deprived of grave gifts.

635 Bedini 1983, 35-37.

636 Bedini 1980, 63, fig. 4, nr. 2; Bedini 1983, 33; Bedini 1990c, 257.

637 Bedini 1980, 63, fig. 4, nr. 4; Bedini 1983, 34.

638 Bedini 1983, 34-35. See for a description of the architecture of the tombs note 21.

639 Bedini 1980, 59-60.

640 See Bedini 1981, 60 for a description of the type and amount of vessels. The collection is very similar to the assemblage encountered in tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa (Bedini 1981, 60, especially note 9).

641 Bedini 1981, 61. See also the section *Secondary deposition*. on the secondary treatment of previously buried individuals.

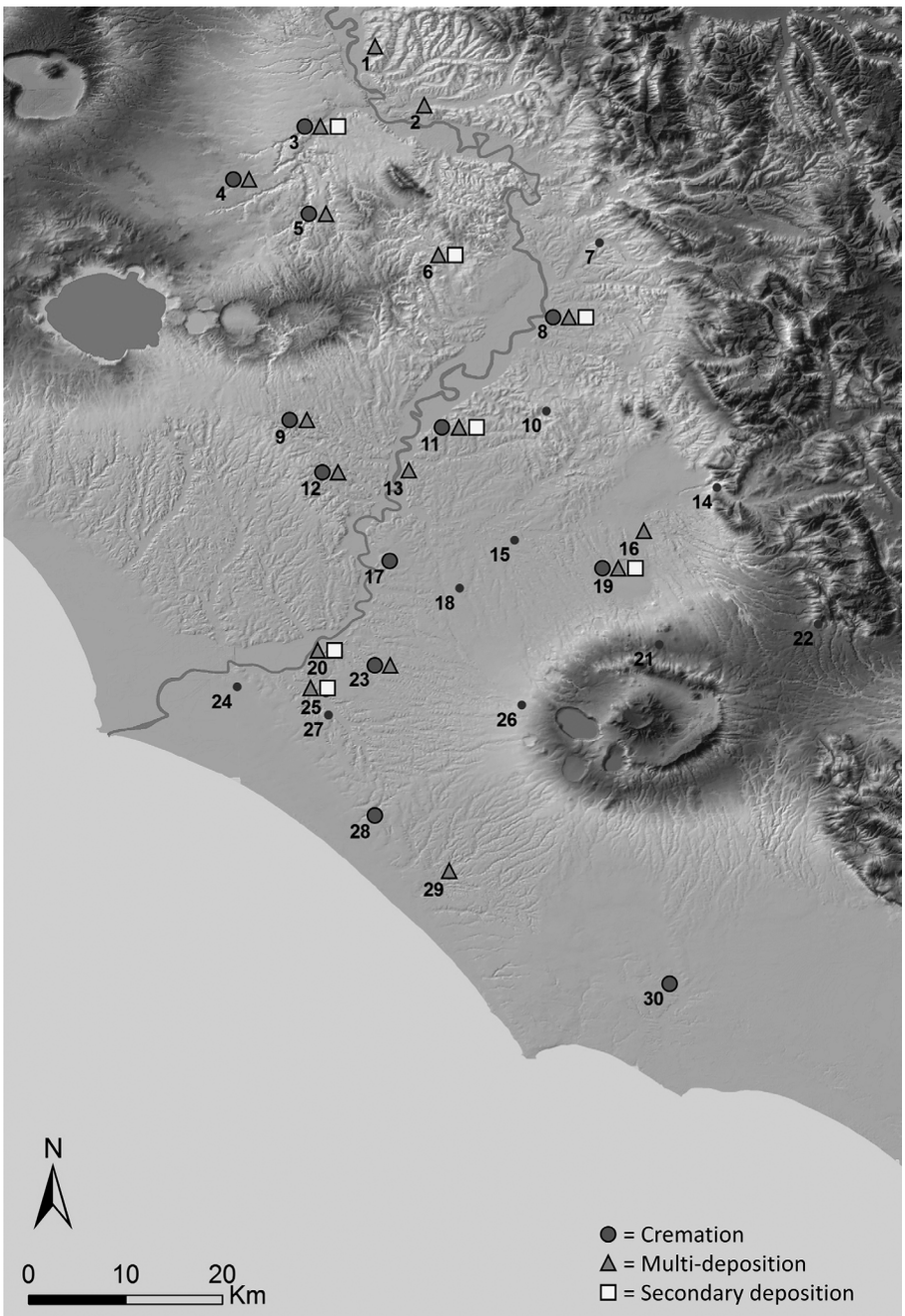


Figure 4.35 Map of Central Italy indicating the locations where multi-deposition, secondary deposition and cremation have been attested (map author). 1: Magliano Sabina, 2: Poggio Sommavilla, 3: Falerii Veteres, 4: Nepi, 5: Narce, 6: Capena, 7: Cures Sabina, 8: Colle del Forno (Eretum), 9: Veii, 10: Nomentum, 11: Crustumerium, 12: Località Volusia, 13: Fidenae, 14: Tivoli, 15: La Rustica, 16: Corcolle, 17: Rome, 18: Centocelle, 19: Osteria dell'Osa, 20: Località Torrino, 21: Colonna, 22: Palestrina, 23: Acqua Acetosa (and Casale Massima), 24: Ficana, 25: Tor de' Cenci, 26: Marino - Riserva del Truglio, 27: Castel di Decima, 28: Lavinium, 29: Ardea, 30: Satricum.

objects,[642] the other burials encountered in the tomb have been dated to the 6th century BC.[643]

Several tombs from Tor de' Cenci display a decrease of the funerary wealth as well. Chamber tomb 12, situated inside one of the grave circles at Tor de' Cenci, did not yield a single funerary gifts.[644] The tomb has been dated to the 6th/5th century BC, based on analogies with tombs from Torrino and Laurentina.[645] The site further yielded eight badly preserved chamber tombs, only two of which yielded a few objects.[646] They have been dated to the 6th/5th century BC and the 5th/4th century respectively.[647] A number of deep fossa tombs at Tor de'Cenci were also deprived of funerary gifts and have consequently been attributed to the 6th/5th

642 Two fibulae have been encountered on the floor of the chamber in the back wall which may possibly have accompanied the burial that was placed there (Bedini 1981, 61).
643 Bedini 1981, 63.
644 Bedini 1990b, 122.
645 The tomb may have been reused during the Republican period (Bedini 1990b, 122).
646 Tomb 16 contained a small cylindrical-ovoid *pentola*; tomb 19 held a black slip *lekythos aryballica* and a scodella, a brocchetta of depurated ware, and a *pentola* of 'internal slip ware' (Bedini 1990b, 126).
647 Bedini 1990b, 126.

century BC as well, just as a fossa tomb with a lateral loculus closed off with tiles.[648]

Information regarding the grave contents of the later dating tombs at Fidenae is limited. However, the one chamber tomb that has been published in some detail yielded no more than an aryballos and a few fragments of iron.[649] The tomb would pertain to Latial period IVB or the Archaic period.[650]

Tombs lacking a set of grave gifts have also been encountered at Colonna (Pian Quintino). According to Angle *et al.*, the fossa tombs might have pertained to less important members of a family, or they could belong to the early 6th century BC in which '… comincia ad essere in uso la consuetudine di non ostentare più il rango e il censo dell'individuo defunto, attraverso il "sacrificio" di beni materiali….'[651]

Twenty-three deep fossa tombs at La Rustica have been attributed to the 6th/5th century BC based on the fact that they completely lacked funerary gifts.[652] Some of the graves contained a stone sarcophagus; others were equipped with a loculus for the deposition, in some instances closed off with tiles.[653]

The decrease of the funerary wealth has also been noted at Ficana. A number of so-called *tipo B* fossa tombs were rather poor in terms of their contents; they yielded no objects apart from a few beads and nails and are therefore hard to date.[654] However, according to Cataldi Dini they must date later than the second half of the 7th century BC, because some of these graves intersected so-called *tipo A* tombs, attributed to the second half of the 7th century.[655] Two loculus tombs furnished with tile closing systems have been attributed to the 6th century BC. The date of these so-called *tipo C* tombs is based on the fact that they partially intersected some older Orientalising tombs and on the type of tiles used for the closing systems.[656] The tombs did not contain any grave gifts.[657]

A chamber tomb at Centocelle has been attributed to the 6th or 5th century BC, based on its architectural lay-out and the absence of funerary gifts.[658]

An (almost complete) lack of objects has further been noted in a number of fossa tombs at Castel di Decima, but their chronological pertinence is debated. The orientation of most of these tombs deviates from the predominant direction[659] and most of them did not contain any objects; only a few yielded a bronze bracelet.[660] It is believed that some of the tombs may not have housed a burial.[661]

Zevi does not think that the tombs can be attributed to a period 'in cui non si sarebbe più usato collocare corredo e ornamenti presso il defunto'[662], since it would not explain the deviating orientation or the fact that some tombs were 'empty',[663] and because the architectonic lay-out is very similar to that of the securely dated older tombs.[664] It has instead been suggested that the tombs may have pertained to individuals of a lower social status, or even to slaves.[665]
A comparison with the IVB/Archaic tombs at Crustumerium reveals, however, that the deviation of the predominant orientation, the lack of objects and the use of a traditional architectonic lay-out are all characteristic of this later phase.[666] In addition, the fact that one of the tombs had been closed off with recycled tuff material,[667] finds a parallel in the closing practice in many of the later dating tombs at Crustumerium.[668]

648 Bedini 1990b, 125-126.
649 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 96.
650 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94-96. See also note 24 for the lay-out of the tomb.
651 Translation: '[a period in which] … a custom came into being of no longer parading the rank and census of the deceased individual through the sacrifice of material goods…' (Angle *et al.* 2007, 170).
652 Carettoni & Zaccagni 1976, 156; Colonna 1977, 155.
653 Guiatoli & Zaccagni 1985, 121.
654 Cataldi Dini 1977, 320.
655 Cataldi Dini 1977, 321-322.
656 Cataldi Dini 1977, 326-328.
657 Cataldi Dini 1977, 322-323.
658 Festuccia & Remotti 2004, 315. The tomb contained a male inhumation, aged 30 to 40 years old. The skeletal remains which were found on the floor of the chamber were not entirely in anatomical connection, possibly as the result of the partial collapse of the walls and the ceiling of the chamber. At least 11 subsequent *fosse* have been dug inside the chamber at a later stage, when the chamber had already collapsed. Inside these *fosse*, remains of the deposition of the chamber have been found. The excavators do not think that the later *fosse* had a funerary purpose (Festuccia & Remotti 2004, 313).
659 Whilst most tombs at Castel di Decima had an E/W orientation, four fossa tombs were oriented perpendicular to this and five others show a significant deviation from the 'standard' orientation (Zevi 1976c, 255-256; Zevi 1977, 245).
660 Zevi 1975, 242.
661 Note, however, that the same statement has been made for some tombs with a 'normal' orientation (Zevi 1975, 242).
662 Translation: 'in which it was no longer customary to place a corredo and ornaments near the deceased'.
663 Zevi 1975, 243.
664 Zevi 1975, 243.
665 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84-85; Zevi 1977; Bartoloni *et al.* 1982.
666 See Chapter 3, *3.3 Placement in the burial ground*, *3.4 The grave goods*, and *3.2.1 Alterations in traditional tomb architecture*.
667 See note 588.
668 As described in Chapter 3, section *Changing closing systems*.

However, based on the filling of the shafts and the location of the tombs, Bartoloni *et al.* believe that the tombs should date to Latial period IVA1.[669]

The investigations at the burial ground of Osteria dell'Osa have yielded four tombs that lacked funerary gifts. The tombs have been attributed to the historic period, i.e. the roman era.[670] However, based on the absence of grave gifts, Bartoloni *et al.* have suggested that these tombs may just as well date to the 6th century BC.[671] The fact that two of the four tombs have a deviating orientation,[672] a feature characteristic of the later dating tombs, seems to support this theory.[673]

As regards Southern Etruria, a decrease of the funerary wealth has been observed at the burial grounds of Veii as well, starting around the beginning of the 6th century BC.[674] It is stated that the grave contents had been reduced to a few strictly personal items and a number of *piccoli vasi*,[675] which would have had a ritual meaning, just as in Latium Vetus.[676]

A reduction of the funerary wealth has further been noted in the Faliscan region at the burial grounds of Capena and Narce. At Capena, the decreasing wealth would have started around the second quarter of the 6th century BC.[677] Many of the cremation burials at Narce, dating to the Archaic or Classical period, were either deprived of grave gifts or accompanied by no more than a few vessels, a ring, a fuseruola or a fibula.[678]

A decrease of the funerary wealth is hard to detect in the Sabine region, because funerary evidence dating to the preceding period is not available. The contents of the 6th century tombs at Magliano Sabina have been regarded as displaying a 'più generalizzata distribuzione della ricchezza', but additional information on the changing character of the wealth distribution is unfortunately not available.[679] The investigations at the Colle del Forno burial ground of Eretum have yielded more detailed information regarding the characteristics of the late 7th and full 6th century BC tombs in the Sabine region. It has been found that these tombs are very similar to the ones encountered in Latium Vetus, especially as regards the assemblage of the banqueting set and the set of personal objects.

The chamber tombs at the Colle del Forno burial ground that date to the end of the 7th century generally contained a modest *corredo*; the dead were accompanied by no more than a few weapons, some personal ornaments and a number of unguentaria.[680] Larger vessels occurred in limited numbers and were mostly placed on the floor of the chamber,[681] presumably at the time of the first deposition. It is believed that the vessels were being reused when subsequent burials took place.[682] Existing tomb structures were being reused for the burial of new bodies throughout the 6th century BC and from the middle of the 6th century onwards, the deposition of a *corredo* in the grave ceased altogether. Instead, a standard set of items that had been used during the funerary ritual was now intentionally broken and the fragments were being deposited in the dromos. This practice ceased as well around the beginning of the 5th century BC.[683]

4.3.1 Exceptions to the rule

Whereas most burial grounds in Latium Vetus and Southern Etruria (and to a lesser extent in the Faliscan and Sabine region) show a decrease of the funerary wealth during Latial period IVB and the Archaic period, there are a few notable exceptions to this rule. Tombs with an elaborate set of grave gifts have been found in Latium Vetus (namely at Lanuvium and Fidenae) and in the Sabine region (at Colle del Forno) (see fig. 4.34). The tombs cited below were created between the beginning of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.

The example from Lanuvium consists of a small, subterranean chamber tomb containing a monolithic sarcophagus that held the remains of male individual, buried with elaborate panoply. The tomb is dated to the beginning of the 5th century BC.[684] Apart from a set of weaponry, the tomb held a so-called '"servizio" da palestra',[685] consisting of three unguentaria, a flask that would have contained sand, one or more *strigili*, and a bronze disc decorated with a discus thrower on the one side and a horseman on the

669 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84.
670 Being tomb 210, 211, 221 and 405 (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 872-873). See the section *4.2.3 Orientation of later tombs compared to that of older ones* on the positioning of these graves within the burial ground.
671 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 85.
672 See also note 623 on the orientation of the tombs.
673 Further proof can be found in the fact that another tomb (nr. 61) which had been dug in the dromos of chamber tomb 62 also lacked grave gifts has been attributed to Latial period IVB (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 844).
674 De Santis in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 38; Drago Troccoli 1997, 270-271.
675 Translation: small vases.
676 De Santis in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 39.
677 Cifani 2003, 108.
678 The incinerated remains were contained inside column kraters (Drago Troccoli 1997, 273).
679 Translation: a more generalised distribution of the wealth (Santoro 2002, 19).
680 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 107.
681 The banqueting set usually consisted of an olla and a vessel for drinking.
682 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 107.
683 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 108.
684 Colonna 1977, 151; Zevi 1990, 267.
685 Translation: a service for the gymnasium.

other.[686] The tomb did not contain any items referring to a banqueting set.[687]

A fossa tomb containing a sarcophagus was identified on the northern side of the settlement plateau of Fidenae, along one of the roads leading into the urban area. It contained the remains of a woman between 20 and 25 years old, accompanied by a mirror, an *aes* rude and a number of personal ornaments, made of gold, amber and glass paste. Based on the technique and the style of the ornaments, the tomb has been attributed to the end of the 6th century BC.[688]

Three chamber tombs at Colle del Forno stood out in terms of the elaborateness of the banqueting set, their size, the deposition of *carri* and the presence of an iron *lituus*.[689] The graves have been attributed to (second half of) the 6th century BC and must have pertained to eminent families, possibly consisting of immigrants.[690] The individuals buried with a *lituus* are believed to have been augurs.[691]

4.3.2 To sum up…

A decrease of the funerary wealth around the end of the 7th century BC has been observed at various burial grounds in Latium Vetus and Southern Etruria and occasionally in the Faliscan region and the Sabine region. Whilst the way the funerary assemblages changed, differed considerably from site to site, and although there are a few notable exceptions, we can observe some general trends. The simplification of the banqueting set seems to have taken place at many of the burial grounds under study; the elaborate sets of the previous period were being replaced by an assemblage consisting only of a few vessels, usually related to pouring and drinking. This is in accordance with the development that took place in Crustumerium, as has been described in Chapter 4. Only in the Sabine region do we find evidence for an alternative ritual, consisting of a fragmentation of the items used during the funerary ritual and the subsequent deposition of the sherds inside the dromoi of the chamber tombs.

The practice of depositing personal objects (both ornamental and functional ones) with the deceased continued for some time after the deposition of elaborate banqueting sets had already ceased. However, the set of personal ornaments was generally very modest and the personal functional objects occurred only in low numbers. Fibulae and unguentaria are the objects that most frequently surfaced in the tombs dating to the later phase.

At a number of sites, the custom of accompanying male burials with weapons continued, whilst the practice of depositing functional objects with women has not been attested in this late phase at any of the funerary areas under study.

As we have seen in the inventory presented above, many tombs have been attributed to the 6th or 5th century based on the absence of funerary gifts inside the graves. While it is fortunate that these 'empty' tombs are no longer overlooked in the chronological analyses of the burial grounds,[692] we should be aware of the circular argument inherent in the chronological attribution of the tombs; since the 6th and 5th century tombs are expected to be deprived of grave goods, tombs lacking objects are almost automatically ascribed to this period. By comparing the characteristics of an 'empty' tomb with those of the other tombs at the same burial ground and by looking at its position within the existing distribution of graves, one may be able to draw up a more nuanced chronological attribution.[693]

While the lion's share of this section has dealt with 'poor' and 'empty' graves, the citation of a number of very wealthy tombs from the same period indicates that exceptions to the rule did exist. The local variations in the tomb contents and funerary ritual further show that the burial customs were far from homogeneous in Central Italy during the IVB/Archaic period. Chapter 5 aims at explaining the differences in the burial customs and funerary wealth, as observed in this section.

4.4 The body

Chapter 4 has listed a number of new burial practices that were being introduced at Crustumerium around the end of the 7th century BC. The burial of multiple individuals inside a single grave and the secondary treatment of (partly) decayed bodies are new phenomena on the burial grounds of the site. In addition, the cremation rite that had long gone out of use, or had at least not left any material traces on the burial grounds, is again attestable in this period, albeit only sporadically.

The following section provides an overview of the funerary evidence from Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region and reveals that the practices listed above were not exclusive to

686 Zevi 1990, 264-267.
687 Colonna 1977, 155.
688 di Gennaro 1990e, 260-262.
689 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 107-108; Benelli & Santoro 2009, 60-61.
690 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 108.
691 Benelli & Santoro 2009, 61.
692 See *Aims* for a description of the problems adhered to the phenomenon of the 'empty' tombs.
693 See also Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84-85.

Crustumerium; they had been (re-)introduced on many burial grounds in these areas at about the same time, constituting a radical alteration of the funerary ritual (see fig. 4.35).

4.4.1 Multi-deposition

The burial of more than one individual inside a single grave has been attested in Central Italy as early as the 9th century BC.[694] The custom initially occurred solely in cremation graves, but was later practiced in inhumation graves as well, both in Etruria[695] and in Latium Vetus.[696]

At Crustumerium, multi-depositional graves in the form of fossa tombs occurred from Latial period IVA onwards, but they remained rather exceptional until the end of the 7th century BC.[697]

These early examples all represent *contemporaneous* burials, signifying that the deceased individuals were deposited inside the grave at the same time.[698] The *subsequent* use of a single funerary monument only started to take place from Latial period IVB onwards. The increasing popularity of the chamber tomb that enabled the burial of more than one individual is closely linked to this development.[699]

The following overview reveals that multi-depositional graves not only occurred in Latium Vetus, but also in Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region (see fig. 4.35).

Multiple, subsequent burials inside a single tomb have been attested at several burial grounds in Latium Vetus and occur most frequently inside chamber tombs.

Chamber tomb 62 at the burial ground of Osteria dell'Osa contained at least 13 depositions; one cremation and 12 inhumations.[700] Multi-deposition has also been attested in two the chamber tombs at Località Torrino; both contained multiple burials which had been deposited in the tombs at successive moments and with diverse orientations. The younger burials were sometimes placed on top of older burials.[701]

As regards Tor de' Cenci, it is believed that many of the chamber tombs had been used more than once, judging from the skeletal material that was frequently found heaped on the floor of the *corridoio*.[702] These heaps have also been found in chamber tombs that were furnished with only one loculus.

One of the chamber tombs to the north of Acqua Acetosa forms another example of multi-deposition; it housed an adult burial in the loculus of the chamber and a child burial in a small niche in the dromos.[703]

One of the *celle* in a chamber tomb at Località Torrino contained the skeletal remains of three adult individuals deposited on the floor of the small room. The other *celle* inside the chamber contained skeletal material as well, indicating that the tomb had been used for the deposition of a considerable number of individuals.[704]

The chamber tombs at the burial ground of Corcolle generally housed two to three burials, but one tomb dating between the end of the 7th century and the full 6th century BC, contained as much as seven inhumations.[705]

The practice of multi-deposition has also been noted at the burial ground of Fidenae;[706] the chamber tombs contained several depositions, placed inside a

694 In Veii, multiple burials have been attested both in pozzo and in fossa graves from the 9th century BC onwards (Bartoloni 2003, 97). The first multi-depositional graves at Populonia are chamber tombs dating to the end of the 9th-beginning of the 8th century BC (Bartoloni 2003, 59).

695 Double burials in fossa tombs have been identified at Veii (Quattro Fontanili), Tarquinia (Monterozzi) and Vetulonia (Bartoloni 2003, 98-100). Fossa tombs with two loculi, both containing a burial, appear at Veii in the last decades of the 8th century BC (Drago in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 24). See also Chapter 3, *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium* on the comparable *Tipo Montarano* tombs at Crustumerium.

696 Fossa tombs containing more than one burial are exceptional in Latium Vetus before the middle of the 7th century BC and occur only sporadically at the burial grounds of Osteria dell'Osa, Riserva del Truglio, La Rustica, Castel di Decima and Satricum (Bartoloni 2003, 100-101).

697 Apart from the *tipo Montarano* graves, which were especially designed to hold two burials, there are also a few examples of *tipo Narce* tombs containing two (probably contemporaneous) burials (see Chapter 3, *3.5 The body*; *3.5.1 Multi-deposition*, especially note 407).

698 In tombs furnished with two separate loculi, the deposition of the burials may not have taken place at exactly the same time. However, because of the fact that the first burial would be left untouched at the time of a subsequent burial in the other loculus, the multi-depositional character of these tombs is markedly different from that of the chamber tombs in which a subsequent burial mostly entailed interference with the previously interred individuals.

699 The occurrence of chamber tombs in Central Italy has been listed in the section *4.1 Grave construction*.

700 Bietti Sestieri 1992b, 204. See the section *4.4.3 Cremation* on the cremation burial encountered inside one of the chambers.

701 Bedini 1990b, 126; Bedini 1981.

702 Bedini 1990b, 126.

703 Bedini 1983, 35-36.

704 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 198, note 38; Bedini 1981, 61-63.

705 Palombi 2013. The tomb stood out in terms of its funerary wealth; it contained an elaborate banqueting set, several personal ornaments and weapons and the offering of a dismembered horse (Palombi 2013).

706 di Gennaro 2006, 231.

loculus or sarcophagus, in a trench in the floor of the chamber or on funerary beds.[707]

Tomb 125 on the Esquiline Hill in Rome must have been used more than once, since it contained grave gifts dating to two different periods.[708]

Ardea is one of the few sites where multi-deposition has been attested in a fossa tomb.[709] The tomb contained the remains of two depositions (one male, one female), placed supine in the grave. The male deposition was situated on a slightly lower level, inside a small fossa which had probably been cut out at a later date, judging from the accompanying personal objects.[710] The banqueting set was placed in a corner of the tomb, on a small bench to the right of the depositions and has been attributed to Latial period IVB.[711]

Multi-deposition has also been attested in Southern Etruria. As regards the Veientine territory, at least three of the chamber tombs at Località Volusia contained two burials.[712] Multi-deposition occurred at many of the burial grounds of Veii itself as well. At Riserva del Bagno and Picazzano so-called 'family' chamber tombs occur from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards.[713] In addition, tomb 5 at Monte Michele also contained multiple burials.[714]

Multi-deposition has been frequently attested in the Faliscan region as well. A chamber tomb from the *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* of Falerii, for example, contained seven inhumations and one cremation burial.[715] The loculi of the chamber tombs at Narce were also used for more than one deposition,[716] and the chamber tombs at the Castellaccio burial ground of Capena must have been reopened for the deposition of additional burials as well.[717]

Finally, multi-depositional tombs have also been attested at the burial grounds Gilastro and S. Paolo of Nepi.[718] One of the chamber tombs at the Gilastro burial ground housed 6 inhumation burials, which had been carefully fitted inside the tomb over the course of more than a century; the two sarcophagi both contained an inhumation, just as the loculus cut out in the chamber wall. Two more individuals had been placed on benches consisting of tuff blocks and the last deposition was placed inside a small open area in between the two sarcophagi, sealed off with a tile.[719]

Tomb 1 of the S. Paolo burial ground contained three depositions; one inside a loculus in the back wall and two inside the chamber, on top of a row of tuff blocks placed on the floor.[720] Tomb 2 contained two inhumation burials, deposited on top of a bench of tuff blocks.[721] Tomb 3 was furnished with a large loculus that imitated a funerary bed, containing the remains of a man and a woman. An additional burial had been deposited in a loculus in the lateral wall of the chamber.[722]

Multi-depositional tombs have also been encountered in the Sabine region, namely at Colle del Forno, Magliano Sabina and at Poggio Sommavilla.

At Colle del Forno, many of the loculi inside the chamber tombs had been reused from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards.[723] Indeed, the total of 39 investigated chamber tombs yielded about 250 burials,[724] suggesting that burying multiple individuals inside a single tomb was common practice at this burial ground.

Multi-deposition started at Magliano Sabina around the beginning of the 6th century BC; the practice has been attested at the burial grounds San Biagio[725] and Madonna del Giglio, where one of the chamber tombs housed three burials; two men and a woman.[726] The tomb dates between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 6th century BC.[727]

With regard to Poggio Sommavilla Cristofani Martelli has noted that the depositions inside the chamber tombs with more than one loculus were not always synchronic.[728] Chamber tomb II, for example,

707 di Gennaro *et al.* 2004, 94.
708 Ryberg 1940, 58. See for a description of this tomb note 17.
709 Namely tomb 5. It is a trapezoidal fossa tomb (measuring 2.40 x ca. 2.00 m) with an E/W orientation.
710 The female burial was accompanied by a bucchero calice and a bucchero aryballos; the male burial had a pyxis at its feet. The female deposition was further accompanied by a fusaiola, a bone disc (pendant?) and a bronze ring; the male burial had a small iron fibula (Crescenzi & Tortorici 1983, 81). The pyxis has been ascribed to the 'Ciclo degli Uccelli' (Cresenzi & Tortorici 1983, 83) and dates to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, suggesting that the deposition of the male burial must have taken place a little later than the burial of the female individual (Cresenzi & Tortorici 1983, 70-71, 81).
711 It consisted of three impasto rosso olle, two bucchero tazze, a bucchero oinochoe, a bucchero kantharos and two coppette of depurated ware.
712 The exact number of depositions could not be determined for all the chamber tombs as the site, but it is believed that tomb 1, 4 and 9 contained two burials (di Gennaro 1990c, 510).
713 Neri 2013, 132.
714 Boitani 1985, 535-556.
715 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 181-211.
716 De Lucia Brolli 1991, 26.
717 Paribeni 1905, 302.
718 Rizzo 1996.
719 Rizzo 1996, 484.
720 Rizzo 1996, 487.
721 Rizzo 1996, 490.
722 Rizzo 1996, 491, note 76.
723 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 108.
724 Benelli & Santoro 2009, 59.
725 Santoro 2002, 19.
726 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 307.
727 Quilici Gigli & Santoro 1990, 309.
728 Cristofani Martelli 1977, 13-14, 17.

was equipped with three loculi and housed three burials. Its contents date between the end of the 7th and the end of the 6th century BC.[729]

Orientation of burials in chamber tombs

The inventory of the orientation of the burials inside the chamber tombs at Crustumerium presented in Chapter 4[730] has shown that most of the buried individuals were directed towards the back wall and that only a small percentage was oriented towards the entrance of the chamber.

A comparison of the practice observed at Crustumerium with that in the wider region proves somewhat difficult, since very few publications make explicit mention of the orientation of the burials in the chamber tombs. The overview presented in the following is therefore unfortunately far from complete. However, an inventory of the available data indicates that both directions described above occur in the chamber tombs on the Central Italian burial grounds under study; burials directed towards the back wall of the chamber have been found in Località Torrino[731] and Poggia Sommavilla;[732] burials facing the entrance of the chamber have been attested at Osteria dell'Osa,[733] Casale Massima,[734] Località Torrino,[735] Tor de' Cenci,[736] Nepi,[737] and Poggio Sommavilla.[738]

Information regarding the orientation of the depositions that have occasionally been encountered in loculi in the dromoi of the chamber tombs is limited; in one case it is clear that the burial was directed away from the entrance.[739]

Since few publications make explicit mention of the orientation of the burials inside the chamber tombs, the overview presented here is far from complete. The inventory does show, however, that the direction of the burials inside the chamber tombs could vary.

4.4.2 Secondary deposition

A practice that is closely connected to the subsequent burial of multiple individuals within a single burial is secondary deposition; older burials were often relocated to make place for new burials inside the same tomb. This practice has been attested in various tombs at Crustumerium, but has been identified at other burial grounds in Latium Vetus, in the Faliscan and the Sabine region as well (see fig. 4.35).

Secondary treatment of skeletal material has been attested at several burial grounds in Latium Vetus. The secondary deposition of skeletal material has been attested in chamber tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa, where many of the burials (both the cremation and the inhumations) inside the chamber

729 Cristofani Martelli 1973, 82-83; Pasqui 1896, 478-480.

730 See Chapter 3, *3.5 The body*; *3.5.1 Multi-deposition*; *Orientation of depositions*.

731 Chamber tomb 1 was furnished with two chambers. The first chamber that was in axis with the dromos contained three burials; two individuals (male and female) had been placed supine on the chamber floor, directed towards the back wall, not accompanied by any object (Bedini 1981, 58-60). The burial inside the second chamber (perpendicular to the first one) was directed towards the back wall as well (Bedini 1981, fig. 4).

732 An illustration of Tomb V at Poggia Sommavilla shows that one of the individuals buried inside a loculus in the chamber was directed towards the entrance, whereas the person in the loculus on the opposite side was directed towards the back wall (Santoro 1977b, fig. 24).

733 The two depositions in the northern *cella* of tomb 62 were both directed towards the entrance of the chamber (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 871). The state of preservation of the skeletal remains inside the eastern *cella* did not permit a reconstruction of the orientation of the burials.

734 The deposition in the lateral loculus of tomb 1 was oriented towards the entrance (on the south); the deposition on the back loculus was directed towards the east (Bedini 1983, 33).

735 The first chamber of chamber tomb 1 contained a third burial on a higher level, situated above the first two; it was a female individual, buried supine, directed towards the chamber entrance.

736 The chamber tombs of Tor de' Cenci furnished with one loculus all contained inhumation burials directed towards the entrance of the tomb (Bedini 1990b, 126).

737 The drawing of chamber tomb 3 of the S. Paolo burial ground of Narce, suggests that the burial inside the lateral niche had been directed towards the entrance of the tomb (see Rizzo 1996, fig. 5).

738 See note 732.

739 The burial inside the loculus in the dromos of the chamber tomb at *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* at Falerii was buried with its feet directed towards the entrance of the chamber (De Lucia Brolli 1998, 183).

had later been moved when subsequent burials were placed inside the grave.[740]

Secondarily deposited skeletal material has also been found on the floor of many chamber tombs at Tor de' Cenci.[741]

The practice of secondary deposition has further been observed in one of the chamber tombs encountered at Località Torrino.[742] One of the *celle* of tomb 2, which was originally probably intended to house an infant burial, contained the skeletal remains of three adult individuals, deposited on the floor of the small room. It is believed that these three individuals had been moved to make room for subsequent burials.[743] A close look at the plan of the tomb suggests that the two *celle* to the left of the entrance may have contained secondarily deposited skeletal material as well; a pile of disarticulate bone fragments is rendered on the floor of both small rooms.[744] However, the character of the burials inside these *celle* is not specified.

Secondary treatment has been attested in the Faliscan region as well; at Falerii a previously deposited inhumation burial in a chamber tomb was pushed aside to make room for the cremated remains of another deceased individual.[745] As regards the Castellaccio burial ground of Capena, Paribeni has noted several examples of primary burials that had later been moved or handled.[746]

In the Sabine region, the secondary deposition of previously buried skeletal remains has been attested at the burial ground of Colle del Forno. The favourable preservation of skeletal material at Colle del Forno revealed that many of the loculi inside the chamber tombs had been reused from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards.[747] The skeletal remains of the previous burial (together with the accompanying corredo) were often piled up in a corner of the loculus, on the floor of the chamber or in a corner of the dromos, in order to make room for a new burial. Only when the second burial was an infant, the first deposition was left untouched, since the deposition of the child required a limited amount of space.[748] A study of the corredi accompanying the deceased individuals has revealed that the secondary depositions could take place a short while, or long after the deposition of the first corpse. One of the loculi inside tomb 32, for example, yielded three Etrusco-Corinthian vessels and an oinochoe of painted black gloss ware.[749] Benelli and Santoro note, however, that the deposition of a new burial did not always involve a relocation of skeletal material; in a few cases the new burials were placed (on a funerary bed) on the chamber floor.[750]

4.4.3 Cremation

The incineration of deceased individuals is a practice that was being (re-)introduced at the burial grounds of Crustumerium around the end of the 7th century BC; Chapter 3 has cited three cremation burials that have surfaced in two chamber tombs at Crustumerium, two inside the same tomb on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, the other at Cisterna Grande.[751]

The practice of incinerating the deceased had long been absent from the burial grounds at Latium Vetus; whilst cremation was the prevailing rite in Latial period I (and II), the practice had been practically abandoned from Latial period IIA onwards.[752] Examples of cremation burials dating to the IVB/Archaic period have been attested in Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan region and the Sabina area as well (see fig. 4.35).[753] The overview presented below will show that whilst some cremation burials dating to this period stood out in terms of their contents and architectonic lay-out, possibly pertaining to individuals of a high social status,[754]others were rather poor and yielded no more than a few objects or none at all.[755]

Cremation burials dating to the IVB/Archaic period have been identified at several sites in Latium Vetus. Chamber tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa contained the cremated remains of at least one adult individual, presumably pertaining to a man represented as a warrior.[756] The incineration had probably

740 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 864-865.
741 Bedini 1990b, 126.
742 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 198, note 38; Bedini 1981, 61-63.
743 Bedini 1981, 61.
744 See Bedini 1981, fig. 6.
745 It is believed that the cremation burial was the last to enter the grave and that the tomb had not been used for a long period of time before that (De Lucia Brolli 1998, 194). See also the section *4.4.3 Cremation*.
746 Paribeni 1905.
747 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 108.
748 Benelli & Santoro 2009, 59.
749 Benelli & Santoro 2009, 59-60.
750 Benelli & Santoro 2011, 108.
751 See Chapter 3, *3.5.3 Cremation*.
752 Nizzo 2008, 111; Smith 2007, 164. However, several cremation burials dating to Latial Period III have been identified at Osteria dell'Osa (Nizzo 2008).
753 Bartoloni *et al.* note that 7th century cremations burials (many of which without an elaborate corredo) have been found at burial grounds in the Colli Albani and at Satricum, Praeneste and maybe also at Caracupa-Valvisciolo (Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84).
754 Cifani 2008, 325.
755 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009.
756 Nizzo 2008, 121, 147.

taken place on the bench inside the chamber and the skeletal remains had not been collected afterwards.[757]

Two cremation burials pertaining to Latial period IVA2-IVB have been identified at Marino - Riserva del Truglio. The incinerated remains were contained inside impasto bruno and bucchero vessels, accompanied by objects of depurated ware. One of the tombs would have been a pozzo-grave with a dolium inside it.[758]

Cremation burials pertaining to Latial period IVB have also been encountered at Satricum. Two of them were contained inside an olla-ossuario.[759] The cremation burials that have been encountered inside tumulus C possibly represent burials that had been inhumed in Latial period III, to be cremated and put into cinerary urns placed on the funerary beds later on.[760]

Investigations at the burial grounds of Rome have yielded two cremation burials dating to the later period; a chamber tomb containing a cremation burial accompanied by several bucchero vessels surfaced near the Porta Latina at Rome,[761] and a *pozzetto* grave on the Esquiline Hill which was built up from tuff blocks, contained a tuff urn with a marble urn inside it. This tomb has been dated tomb around 510 BC.[762] Cremation burials have also been attested at Acqua Acetosa,[763] Tivoli,[764] and Lavinium.[765]

In Etruria, the practice of burying the cremated remains of an individual had been in use until just after the middle of the 8th century BC,[766] and it can be argued that the practice never really disappeared from the Etruscan burial grounds. At Chiusi for example, the cremation burial was practiced until the Archaic period and was even then not entirely replaced by the inhumation rite.[767] As regards Southern Etruria, the cremation burial had become the standard at Veii in the 6th and 5th century BC, whereas inhumation burials had by that time become exceptional.[768]

The rite has been attested at almost all burial grounds surrounding Veii.[769] Cremation burials dating to the 6th or 5th century BC have, for example, been encountered in tomb 419 at Grotta Gramiccia.[770] The tomb consisted of a rectangular fossa furnished with three steps. Cinerary urns had been placed in the three niches in the left and back wall. The niches had each been closed off with a tuff slab.[771] The tomb has been dated to the first half of the 6th century BC.[772] One of the urns held the remains of two individuals.[773] The fact that the urns probably contained only part of the cremated remains and the fact that the skeletal material seems to have been broken into very small fragments, suggest that a special ritual had been carried out.[774]

Cremation burials have also been attested at Località Volusia. Tomb 6 probably consisted of a shaft furnished with a small niche, closed off with a tile.[775] The niche contained a cinerary urn with a *piattino coperchio*, an archaic tile and a scodella of impasto, which had been placed upside down in the grave.[776] The tomb has been dated to the 6th or beginning of the 5th century BC.[777] Tomb 11, located to the east of tomb 6, was equipped with two niches in the back wall, both containing a cinerary urn.[778] It has been dated to the 5th century BC.[779]

In the Faliscan region cremation burials have been attested at Falerii, Nepi and Narce. One of the chamber tombs on the *Necropoli dei Cappuccini* at Falerii contained seven inhumations and one cremation burial.[780] The cremated individual (a child of ca. 6 years old) was placed in one of the loculi in the back wall, accompanied by a bronze bracelet, a bulla and a silver ring. A previously deposited inhumation burial was pushed to the side in order to make room for the subsequent deposition of the cremated remains, which had apparently not been placed inside a con-

757 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 864-865; Nizzo 2008, 121. Apart from the cremated male individual, the tomb contained at least 12 inhumations. See the section *4.4.1 Multi-deposition*.
758 Nizzo 2008, 129.
759 Nizzo 2008, 142.
760 Waarsenburg 1995, 308-309.
761 Colonna 1996, 344-345.
762 Cifani 2008, 325, fig. 269.
763 Chamber tomb 93 contained a cremation burial (Cifani 2008, 199). The exact date of the tomb is unknown.
764 Palmieri 2009, 374. See also Colonna 1977 and Naso 1990.
765 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84.
766 As has been observed at Veii (Bartoloni 2003, 50). At Populonia, cremation continued to be the prevailing rite until the 7th century BC (Bartoloni 2003, 47).
767 Minetti 2004, 544.
768 Drago Troccoli 1997, 275-276.
769 Namely at Grotta Gramiccia, Picazzano, Quattro Fontanili, Monte Michele, Valle La Fata, Casalaccio, Contrada Pantanaccio, Formello (loc. Quarto della Perazzetta), at the Tumulo di Vaccareccia and at the Tumulo di Monte Oliviero (De Santis in Bartoloni *et al.* 1994, 39).
770 Drago Troccoli 1997, 239.
771 Drago Troccoli 1997, 241-246.
772 Drago Troccoli 1997, 246.
773 Drago Troccoli 1997, 247.
774 Drago Troccoli 1997, 248.
775 di Gennaro 1990c, 512.
776 di Gennaro 1990c, 512, 515; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 77-79.
777 di Gennaro 1990c, 511.
778 di Gennaro 1990c, 514, note 3; Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 113-116.
779 Carbonara *et al.* 1996, 114.
780 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 181-211.

Figure 4.36 House shaped tuff urn from Tumulus Bandita Grande 1 (Zifferero 2000, fig. 29-30).

tainer.[781] The cremation burial would date to the end of the 6th, beginning of the 5th century BC.[782]
A chamber tomb at the Fosso del Cerro burial ground of Nepi was furnished with two niches in the back wall, each containing a cinerary urn. Apart from the cremation burials, the tomb housed inhumation burials as well.[783]

Cremation burials have been encountered in open fossa tombs with or without steps at Narce, dating to the end of the 6th – beginning of the 5th century BC.[784] In some of the tombs the cremations were placed inside a niche, closed off with a tile or a tuff block. Many tombs contained a layer of dark black earth, probably representing the remains of the pyre.[785]

Evidence for cremation burials in the Sabina area is very scarce; there is only one example from Colle del Forno. A cremation burial has been encountered in tomb 36. Tomb 36 is an exceptional tomb, not only because of the funerary rite, but also because of its extraordinary dimensions and unparalleled contents. It is believed that the tomb must have pertained to a person with regal status. It has been dated to the end of the 6th century BC.[786]

Representations of houses

The cremation burials encountered at Crustumerium do not only stand out because of the fact that the funerary rite was quite exceptional in the period they date to, but also because of the fact that two of them were contained inside a house-shaped tuff urn.[787] Funerary containers in the shape of a house (or hut) have a long tradition in Central Italy; clay hut-shaped urns were used between the 10th and 8th century BC[788] and have been attested in Etruria and Latium Vetus, but also in the Sabine region.[789]

Representations of huts and houses continued to emerge on the funerary domain after the 8th century BC; they appeared in the form of grave markers (*cippi*), urns and sarcophagi and have been attested on the burial grounds of Latium Vetus, Etruria and the Faliscan region, as the overview provided below will show.

The Villanovan clay hut- urns have generally been regarded as a reference to the elevated social status of the deceased;[790] they are either seen as representations of the status of the deceased as a *pater familias*,[791] or as a more general symbol of the nuclear family,[792] depending on the local funerary ideology.[793] The later dating representations of huts and houses have been more generally connected to the ideology of the elite group, just as the architecture of the chamber tomb.[794] Chapter 5 will further investigate the ideological concepts behind the use of the house as a symbol in the funerary domain, zooming in on the examples dating to the IVB/Archaic period.

Cippi

Apart from the two house-shaped urns, the burial grounds of Crustumerium have also yielded various more or less refined *cippi*. The grave markers have mostly been found inside the shafts of later dating tombs, apparently used as filling of the later dating tombs.[795] One *cippo* surfaced during agricultural work near the limit of the settlement. It was shaped in the form of a hut with a pitched ceiling; the walls were decorated with incised decoration representing

781 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 194.
782 De Lucia Brolli 1998, 197.
783 Rizzo 1996, 479.
784 Drago Troccoli 1997, 265.
785 Drago Troccoli 1997, 266.
786 Santoro 2006.
787 See Chapter 3, *3.5.3 Cremation*.
788 The hut urns date between the 10th and the 8th century BC (Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 219).
789 Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 221.
790 Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 224.
791 This hypothesis was already formulated at the end of the 19th century (see Bartoloni 1987, 9) and has been repeated by Bietti Sestieri (Bietti Sestieri 1980). Because of the fact that hut urns occur in male and female graves, the interpretation is debated (Bartoloni 1987, 15).
792 Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 224. See also Tuck 2012, 43.
793 Bartoloni *et al.* stress the importance of the local funerary ideology and the differential use of the hut urns (Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 224-225).
794 Riva 2010, 84.
795 The most beautiful example of a hut-shaped cippo has been found inside the shaft of MDB/T301; the hut with thatched roof has an ovoid plan and is furnished with three entrances and two chimney openings in bas-relief. A much smaller and less refined example has been found inside the shaft of MDB/T254 (see the Tomb Catalogue).

the door and the windows. The *cippo* has been dated to the end of the 9th or full 8th century BC.[796]

Hut-shaped *cippi* have also been attested at the burial grounds of Veii and occur from the 8th century BC onwards.[797]

Another example surfaced near the Via Ardeatina and has been dated to the 8th or 7th century BC.[798] Smaller examples of *cippi* at Caere have been dated to the Archaic period and later.[799]

Urns

Urns in the shape of houses were either made of clay, or hewn out of tuff or peperino, but there are also a few exceptional examples of house-shaped urns made of bronze sheet or silver.[800] Impasto rosso urns with white-on-red decoration have been attested at Caere [801] and were generally deposited inside chamber tombs dating to the second half of the 7th century BC.[802]
House-shaped urns hewn out of tuff have been found on the Esquiline Hill at Rome,[803] but also at Allumiere (see fig. 4.36).[804] Peperino urns have further been identified at the Necropoli della Selciatella and the Necropoli della Colombella at Palestrina.[805]A cinerary urn of *cappellaccio* with a roof-shaped lid has been found inside a chamber tomb at Lavinium.[806]

Sarcophagi

Apart from urns containing the incinerated remains of a deceased individual, there are also numerous examples of house-shaped objects containing inhumation burials, which should consequently be labeled sarcophagi.

Small tuff sarcophagi in the shape of a house dating to the 8th century BC have been found at Tarquinia, Veii, Cerveteri, and in the *agro Falisco*,[807] where they were mostly used for the deposition of children.[808] Excavations at the Esquiline necropolis at Rome yielded a number of house-shaped sarcophagi made of marble or peperino, which contained a cinerary urn. They date to the end of the 6th century BC.[809] Furthermore, two peperino house-shaped sarcophagi surfaced in a chamber tomb at Corcolle,[810] and five large fossa tombs at La Rustica yielded tuff sarcophagi 'con coperchio piatto o a doppio spiovente'.[811] House-shaped sarcophagi occur at Narce as well; they have been attested inside four tombs and contained the skeletal remains of children.[812]

4.4.4 To sum up…

The burial of more than one individual inside a single tomb structure was a widespread practice that occurred in Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan region and the Sabine region from the end of the 7th century onwards. Apart from a few exceptions, multiple burials inside a single grave occurred solely in chamber tombs, a tomb type that seems to have been specifically designed to house more than one deceased individual and is therefore often regarded as a family tomb.

Evidence for secondary treatment of previously interred individuals has been found in all the regions listed above and occurs exclusively in multi-depositional graves, since the practice consists of the relocation of previous burials at the time of subsequent use of a tomb for new burials.

The cremation rite has been identified in a few tombs in Latium Vetus, the Faliscan and the Sabine region dating from the end of the 7th century BC onwards. The practice seems to have been more widely practiced in Veii. Many of the cremation burials have been attested in exceptional graves and it is believed that they pertained to individuals with a high social status. The increasing popularity of the cremation ritual and its social significance will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

The use of house-shaped urns to contain the material remains of a deceased individual has been attested in two tombs at Crustumerium, but occurred on other burial grounds in Latium Vetus, Etruria and

796 di Gennaro 2003, 33-37.
797 Riva 2010, 83-84.
798 Cereghino 2006, 456, cat. II.890.
799 Riva 2010, 83-84.
800 This type of urns has been identified at Civita Castellana (dated to the middle of the 7th century BC), Vetulonia (Tomba del Duce and Tumulo del Figula, tomb II), Veio (Monte Michele tomb 5) and Orvieto (dated to the end of the 7th century BC) (Buranelli 1985, 51, 57). See also Naso 1990, 250, note 24 for further literature on tuff hut urns.
801 They occurred on the burial grounds Bufolareccia, Monte Abatone and Laghetto (Riva 2010, 84; Buranelli 1985, 51; Bartoloni *et al.* 1987; Coen 1991).
802 Buranelli 1985, 51.
803 Unfortunately only four of them have been preserved to date (Albertoni 1983, 146 and 154, note 10).
804 A tuff urn with a lid in the shape of a pitched roof urn was probably originally located inside the chamber in Tumulus 1 at The Bandita Grande at Allumiere. The tomb contents have been dated between the second quarter of the 7th and the last quarter of the 6th century BC (Zifferero 2000, 218-232).
805 Colonna 1977, 149.
806 Guaitoli 1995, 557.
807 Riva 2010, 84; Buranelli 1985, 56, note 27.
808 Buranelli 1985, 56-57.
809 Naso 1990, 252.
810 Reggiani *et al.* 1998, 120-123.
811 Translation: with flat lid or with a pitched lid (Carettoni & Zaccagni 1976, 156).
812 The tombs consisted of deep rectangular shafts, on the bottom of which the sarcophagi had been placed. The burials had been accompanied by a number of vessels, unguentaria and personal ornaments (Potter 1976, 66-73, figg. 20, 21, 22 and 24).

the Faliscan region as well. The inventory presented in this section has shown that the hut/house is a recurrent theme in the funerary arena that appeared as early as the 10th century BC. The significance of the house as a symbol in the IVB/Archaic period will be investigated in Chapter 5.

When inventorying the occurrence of multi-depositional graves, secondary deposition and cremation, we should be very well aware of the influence adverse preservation conditions may have had on the availability of detailed data regarding the skeletal remains; when a burial has been badly preserved it may be hard to tell whether it had been secondarily treated. Furthermore, in lack of proper specialists in the field, archaeologists may occasionally have overlooked the secondary character of a burial, or they may not have recognised the presence of an additional burial inside a grave.

Taking this bias into account, it is safe to assume that the phenomena described in this chapter must have occurred even more frequently than the presented overview suggests.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated how the changing burial customs at Crustumerium taking place in the IVB/Archaic period, compared to the situation at other funerary areas in Latium Vetus, Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region, zooming in on four main elements of change; the funerary architecture, the spatial distribution, the funerary wealth and the introduction of new burial practices.

The chapter has shown that the developments observed at Crustumerium are for a large part in accordance with the changes that occurred in the wider region. The increasing spaciousness of the funerary monuments eventually resulting in the introduction of the chamber tomb has been observed in all four areas listed above. The chamber tomb appeared in Etruria first, but was soon afterwards introduced on burial grounds in Latium Vetus, the Faliscan and the Sabine region as well.

This chapter has further discussed the spatial distribution of the younger tombs in respect of the existing lay-out of older tombs. The two patterns identified at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, in which younger tomb were either nested in the existing pattern, or clearly spatially distinct from the older ones, have been observed at various other burial grounds in Central Italy as well. Due to the limited availability of data on the spatial distribution of many burial grounds, the comparative analysis is unfortunately far from complete. Chapter 5 will investigate whether diverse social factors may have had a decisive influence on the formation of the burial grounds, resulting in differing spatial distributions of tombs.

The decrease of the funerary wealth in the IVB/Archaic period has been observed at all burial grounds under study. Although there may be a few exceptions to the rule, there is a clear general trend; the funerary assemblage that had consisted of an elaborate banqueting set and a collection of personal objects during Latial period IVA, had now been reduced to a bare minimum. From Latial period IVB onwards the tombs usually contained no more than a few vessels, mostly used for drinking and pouring liquids. The personal assemblage had become very modest as well; functional objects had almost completely disappeared from the graves, just as the set of personal ornaments.

Apart from the graves with a limited set of grave gifts, the chapter has also listed a large number of tombs that did not contain a single item, possibly representing the final stage of the development towards a decreasing funerary wealth. However, since the tombs that completely lacked objects could generally not be properly dated, a precise chronological reconstruction of this development proves problematic. Explanations for the decrease of the funerary wealth will be formulated in Chapter 5.

The last section of this chapter has dealt with regional parallels for a number of burial practices that were being (re-)introduced at the burial grounds of Crustumerium from the end of the 7th century BC onwards; it has looked at the occurrence of multiple, subsequent burials inside a single tomb, at the secondary deposition of skeletal remains and at evidence for the practice of the cremation rite. It has been found that burying multiple individuals inside a single grave was a practice that occurred on many burial grounds in Central Italy, albeit almost exclusively in chamber tombs. Secondary treatment of previously interred individuals occurred a little less frequently, but has been attested on various burial grounds in Central Italy and was mostly restricted to chamber tombs as well. Evidence for the practice of the cremation rite has been found at a small number of sites in Latium Vetus, in the Faliscan and the Sabine region, while the custom was rather widespread at the burial grounds of Veii.

The overview indicates that depositing multiple individuals inside a single (chamber) tomb had become common practice in Central Italy from the end of the 7th century BC onwards, closely connected to the secondary treatment of previously interred individuals; older burials had to be moved in order to make room for subsequent ones.

The next chapter will place the developments described in this chapter in a wider socio-political framework, aiming at explaining why the burial customs changed the way they did.

5

IN CONCLUSION

'The cemetery acts as a barometer for transformations in ideology and societal structure, for […] funerary ritual is never neutral.'[813]

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the way the funerary customs changed from Latial period IVA to the IVB/Archaic period at Crustumerium, and to reconstruct the phenomena that brought the changing customs about. The most important changes in the funerary customs observed at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have been listed in Chapter 3. They have been ordered into four mortuary domains (described in Chapter 2), namely the grave construction, the placement in the burial ground, the grave goods and the body.

The most important change in the domain of the grave construction is the introduction of the *tomba tipo Monte Michele* and the chamber tomb around the end of the 7th century BC. Both tomb types were furnished with a long entrance way, but the chamber tomb offered a large burial space. The traditional (fossa and loculus) tomb types were somewhat simplified in terms of their lay-out and reduced in terms of their dimensions. The space reserved for burial was significantly smaller in the later dating tombs. Many closing systems inside the tombs had an improvised character; they consisted of various different (re-used) tuff chunks.

The most apparent development with regard to the placement in the burial ground is that most of the IVB/Archaic tombs were positioned within the existing distribution of tombs, occasionally causing them to intersect older tomb structures. A small number of tombs were situated on a seemingly newly exploited area that almost completely lacked older tombs. Another remarkable development with regard to the placement in the burial ground is the increasing variation in the orientation of the tombs (and burials) in the IVB/Archaic period.

Probably the most apparent changes occurred in the domain of the grave goods; the amount of banqueting vessels decreased dramatically and so did the number of personal (ornamental and functional) objects. The tombs that date to the last phase of the burial grounds were almost completely deprived of grave gifts.

The IVB/Archaic period also witnessed a number of changes in the domain of the body. The introduction of the chamber tomb enabled multi-deposition and caused the increase of the number of secondary depositions. A few chamber tombs yielded cremation burials, indicating that this rite had been re-introduced.

In order to test whether the changes in the burial customs of Crustumerium were site-specific or rather symptomatic of a region-wide development, Chapter 4 has compared the observations made at Crustumerium to the developments noted at other burial grounds in Latium Vetus, Southern Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region. The inventory has shown that most of the developments described above occurred at many other Central Italian burial grounds around the same time; the simplification and dimensional reduction of traditional tombs types, the introduction of the chamber tomb, the positioning of younger tombs within an existing distribution of older tombs, the decreasing funerary wealth and the introduction of new burial practices have all been attested at several sites in the regions around Crustumerium. Although there are some local variations on the general trends, the fact that these changes occurred more or less contemporaneously throughout a fairly large region suggests that they were caused by socio-political dynamics that transcended the level of individual settlements.

This chapter will first sketch the three major developments noted at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, inserting the many observed changes into larger patterns, and will then zoom in on the socio-political background of the period. The last section of the chapter is devoted to the reconstruction of the phenomena that may have caused the changes in the funerary customs.

5.1 Three major developments

The inventory of the changes in the funerary customs at Crustumerium in the IVB/Archaic period has shown that they were manifold and that they occurred in all four mortuary domains. The myriad subtle and more radical changes can, however, be grouped into three major developments; the changes signal a decreasing investment in the funerary realm, a transformation of

813 Citation from Isayev 2007, 8.

former funerary traditions and an increased grouping of tombs (and burials). The changes will be briefly mentioned below in relation to the overarching development they have been ascribed to. The fact that a few of the changes have been attributed to more than one so-called major development, indicates that the evolution of the funerary customs was not a straightforward process and that the changes can be interpreted in various different ways.

5.1.1 Decreasing investment

Many of the changes in the funerary customs are symptomatic of a decreasing investment in the funerary realm. Not only were the grave goods that accompanied the dead less numerous and less costly, the amount of energy expended on the creation of the grave constructions dwindled as well. The latter phenomenon is noticeable in the size, lay-out and finishing of the traditional tomb types created during the IVB/Archaic period, but also, perhaps rather surprisingly in the introduction of the chamber tomb, at least at the burial grounds of Crustumerium.

The grave goods

The reduction of investment is most evident in the decrease of the funerary wealth. The number and quality of banqueting vessels deposited in the tombs decreased dramatically, as did the personal ornaments and objects.[814] The banqueting assemblages were being reduced to a set that consisted of no more than a few vases and the personal ornaments were far less numerous and far less costly. Female functional objects disappeared completely from the graves, whereas men continued to be buried with one or more weapons. A similar development has been observed at many other burial grounds in Central Italy.

The grave construction

The traditional tombs types were simplified in terms of their architectonic lay-out and reduced in terms of their dimensions. The individual elements of the IVB/Archaic tombs, such as the shaft and the loculus, were considerably smaller and narrower than those of the tombs from the previous period. As a consequence, the sepulchral space inside the loculus was often only just large enough to house a burial. A comparative analysis of the tomb depths on the Fossato Area of the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground has shown that the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs were also significantly shallower than the loculus tombs dating to Latial period IVA.[815]

It is evident that the energy expended on the creation of the tombs dwindled from the middle or end of the 7th century BC onwards on the burial grounds of Crustumerium. The level of detail regarding the information on the architectonic characteristics of the tombs at Crustumerium is unfortunately not available for the graves at other Central Italian burial grounds, but the fact that several loculus tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period were furnished with a similarly small sepulchral loculus,[816] suggests that the decrease of energy expended on the tombs and at the burial grounds occurred at other sites as well.

The energy expended on the creation of the closing systems must have decreased as well in the IVB/Archaic period at Crustumerium. The large slabs of local or imported tuff that had been customary until Latial period IVA no longer occurred; the closing systems were now often built up from the tuff rubble acquired from digging the shaft of the tomb and/or of recycled tuff elements from elsewhere. The occurrence of column fragments and parts of sarcophagus lids in the piles that closed off elements of the tomb, as well as the presence of *cippi* inside the filling of the shafts, suggest that little effort was invested in the creation of the closing system and in filling back the tomb. The decrease of the quality of the closing systems has almost solely been attested at Crustumerium, possibly indicating that it represents a purely local development. However, the use of tiles to close off a loculus has been attested at many burial grounds in Central Italy and may very well be symptomatic of a similar development. The use of tiles enabled people to quickly close off the loculus of a tomb by (re-)using building materials from the nearby settlement.[817]

The chamber tomb is of particular interest in reference to the energy invested in the creation of a tomb structure. Because the chamber tomb is mostly equipped with a sepulchral room that could be accessed by means of a long and deep dromos, the tomb type has generally been considered as an example of a large communal investment, regarding it from an 'energy expenditure'[818] point of view. Although there

814 See Chapter 3, *3.4 The grave goods*.

815 See section *3.2.1 Alterations in traditional tomb architecture*.

816 This type of tombs has for example been attested at Laurentina Acqua Acetosa (see Chapter 4, *4.1.2 Other IVB/Archaic grave constructions*).

817 The exact cost or price of the tiles is hard to establish. Rajala estimates that the set of tiles required to close off a loculus (consisting of three to four tiles) would have cost approximately two days of salary of an unskilled labourer, but it may have been less expensive if the tiles were being recycled (Rajala *et al.* 2013, 72).

818 See Tainter 1978.

are admittedly numerous examples of enormous chamber tombs furnished with several burial chambers which were sometimes even covered with tumuli, the chamber tombs at Crustumerium do not pertain to this category of 'monumental' graves. Indeed, the Crustumerium chamber tombs were generally quite small and rather poorly finished. The dromoi could reach a considerable length, but hardly classify as monumental. In addition, evidence for covering of the tombs by means of a tumulus has not been found.

Quite to the contrary, the chamber tombs at Crustumerium form another indication of the decreasing investment in the funerary realm. Although the chamber tombs appear to have been much more spacious than the earlier dating fossa and loculus tombs, the energy invested in their creation was not as enormous as one may presume at first glance. Whereas the total amount of cubic meters hewn out for their creation was larger than the amount required for the traditional fossa and loculus tombs, taking the average number of depositions buried inside the different tomb types into account, one finds that the amount of cubic meters per burial was actually a little lower for the depositions buried in the chamber tombs.[819] A similarly detailed comparative analysis has not been made for the chamber tombs that surfaced at other burial grounds in Central Italy, but the small size and poor finishing of many of them suggest that the limited amount of energy expended on the creation of the chamber tombs observed at Crustumerium, may apply to these other sites as well.

5.1.2 Transformation of traditions

The second major development is the transformation of traditions: a great many of the changes in the burial customs signal that former funerary traditions were no longer in vigour or that they were less rigidly complied with in the IVB/Archaic period. The increased variation in the orientation of tombs and burials, the altering composition of the banqueting set, the character of the closing systems and the secondary deposition of previously buried individuals are all symptomatic of this development, as will be described below.

Orientation of tombs and burials

The IIB, III and IVA tombs (and the burials they contained) were mostly directed towards the northeast. The uniformity of the tomb orientation, suggests that it was bound by predefined rules, presumably dictated by ideological beliefs. The orientation of the tombs became increasingly varied at the burial grounds of Crustumerium from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards. Although the later dating tombs were still predominantly directed towards the northern hemisphere, the variation in their orientation was much larger, especially among the chamber tombs.[820]

The large range in the orientation of the chamber tombs is, however, possibly mainly due to practical considerations; in order to create a structurally sound chamber tomb with a solid ceiling, one would presumably preferably dig the dromos into the slope of a hill, working from the bottom to the top.[821] The positioning of the chamber tomb is therefore at least partially dependent on the articulation of the landscape. Since the shafts of the fossa and loculus tombs were dug vertically, it would have been easier to comply with the predominant (ritual) orientation. Having said that, the large sepulchral space of the chamber tombs did allow for more variety in the orientation of the burials within the grave construction, since the positioning of the burials was not strongly dictated by the architecture of the tomb.

If the uniformity of the tomb orientation in the previous period is symptomatic of obeying to certain predefined rules, the wide range of directions noted for the IVB/Archaic tombs may signal that the rules no longer applied or that people no longer felt the need to comply with them.

Although it is impossible to cite exact parallels for the development noted at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, the increasingly large range in the orientation of the tombs in the IVB/Archaic period has been noted at several other Central Italian sites,[822] suggesting that a similar process took place in the wider region around Crustumerium.

The closing systems

The changing character of the closing systems at Crustumerium, described above in reference to a decrease of investment in the funerary realm, can also be regarded as indicative of the less strict compliance to the funerary traditions. The fact that people started to use chunks of tuff acquired from quarrying the shaft of the tomb or elements that had not originally been destined to function as part of the closing system in a tomb, such as (fragments of) sarcophagus lids and columns, instead of hewing out monumental tuff slabs, suggests that the funerary regulations may have

819 See for a calculation of the volume of both tombs the *Appendix 3: Calculation of energy expenditure*.

820 See Chapter 3, *3.3 Placement in the burial ground*.

821 See also *Division between the living and the dead*; *Prolonged entrance ways*.

822 See Chapter 4, *4.2 Placement in the burial ground*; *4.2.3 Orientation of later tombs compared to that of older ones*.

weakened, allowing people to close off the individual elements of the tombs to their own discretion.

The use of fragments of *cippi* for the creation of rubble closing systems, and the occurrence of complete *cippi* in the shafts of numerous tombs is possibly also symptomatic of a transformation of traditions. The grave markers that must have indicated the location of older tombs were now used as a quick means to close off or fill up a later grave in their vicinity, suggesting that the tombs these markers had referred to were no longer considered of great relevance or that their location was being indicated in another way.

The banqueting set

The abandonment of former funerary traditions is even more apparent in the changing assemblage (and disappearance) of the banqueting set in the IVB/Archaic period. A chronological analysis of the grave goods suggests that the banquet must have formed an integral part of the funerary ritual from Latial period III onwards. Whilst the sets were still relatively simple in this early period, they were gradually being elaborated with more vessels, eventually resulting in a greater functional diversity of the assemblage. In Latial period IVA, as a rule, each deposition was accompanied with at least 10-12 vessels which could be used for storing, pouring and mixing of liquids, for drinking and scooping and for the preparation, storage and consumption of solid food stuffs. If one assumes that the vessels that were being deposited in the graves are indicative of the practice that was being performed as part of the funerary ritual, the assemblages of the IVA period point in the direction of a true banquet.

The fact that the IVB/Archaic tombs generally contained such a small ceramic assemblage which had a very limited functional diversity (referring almost solely to pouring and drinking of liquids) suggests that the former banquet had now been reduced to a drinking ceremony (or *circumpotatio* ritual). Since many IVB/Archaic tombs were completely deprived of banqueting vessels, one may argue that even the drinking ritual no longer formed a customary element of the funerary ritual.

One could argue that the banqueting ceremony did continue to form part of the funerary ceremony and that only the way people disposed of the vessels had altered; they no longer accompanied the dead with the (entire) set. The few vessels that still ended up in the grave could then be regarded as a *pars pro toto*, symbolising the complete set that had been used during the funerary ritual. However, the fact that the vessels that were still being deposited in the IVB/Archaic tombs almost solely refer to pouring and drinking, and the fact that many tombs do not contain a single vessel, suggests that the character of the ritual itself had altered and not only the manner of disposing of the vessels.

Secondary deposition

The letting go of former funerary traditions is also apparent in the mortuary domain of the body. The increase of the number of multi-depositional (chamber) tombs in the IVB/Archaic period, gave rise to a practice that was (almost completely) unheard of before, namely the secondary deposition of previously buried individuals. The spaciousness of the chamber tombs allowed for the deposition of multiple depositions and enabled the moving around of objects and (decomposed) bodies. The dynamic post-depositional character of the chamber tombs forms a sharp contrast with the static nature of the fossa and loculus tombs. In these tombs the burial was never seen (let alone touched) again after the closing stones had been put in place and the shaft had been filled back.[823] The chamber tomb allowed for a different kind of interaction with the (buried) dead and it can be argued that as such, it transformed the burial ritual itself. The paired increase of chamber tombs and secondary deposition has been attested at many other burial grounds in Central Italy.

5.1.3 Clustering of tombs and burials

The third major development is the clustering of both tombs and burials, which is noticeable in a number of changes in the mortuary domains "placement in the burial ground" and "grave-construction".

The analysis of the placement in the burial ground of the IVB/Archaic tombs on the burial grounds of Crustumerium has shown that most of them were nested within the existing distribution of tombs; indeed, the younger tombs were located on the limited space available near the older tombs instead of on the open areas that surrounded them. As a result, many older tomb structures were being intersected or otherwise compromised. The damage brought to the older tombs, although probably unintended, indicates that limited 'buffer' margins were being observed, presumably because situating the younger burial close to previously interred individuals was

823 The only exceptions to this rule are the burials that were being deposited inside the shaft of existing tombs (see Chapter 3, note 408). Note, however, that the later depositions were placed on a higher level, leaving the original burial and its accompanying objects untouched, as well as most of the architecture of the tomb. The practice has only been attested in a small number of tombs. Unfortunately the date of the later depositions is mostly hard to determine, because they were either not accompanied by any objects or the contents of the tomb were looted.

deemed of greater importance than maintaining the integrity of the older grave constructions.

The fact that the orientation of most of the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs deviates from the 'standard', is possibly indicative of a similar phenomenon; the tombs were positioned in such a way that they could be fitted within an existing group of tombs, even if it meant that their orientation did not coincide with the predominant one.

Both the positioning of IVB/Archaic tombs inside the existing distribution of graves and the deviation of the orientation of the later tombs have been observed at many burial grounds in Central Italy.

The increased level of clustering is not only evident in the spatial patterning of the grave constructions, but also in the distribution of the burials over these tombs. Until Latial period IVA, each tomb normally housed one deposition. A very small number of fossa and loculus tombs that date to this period contained two, instead of one burial. It was only after the introduction of the chamber tomb around the middle of the 7th century BC that the practice of multi-deposition started to occur more frequently. Even though most of the chamber tombs dating to the second half of the 7th century BC still housed only one deposition, the later IVB/Archaic chamber tombs contained three depositions on average and could house up to seven burials. The chamber tombs allowed for a more intensive use of the burial ground; a tomb could be used more than once and could hold several subsequent depositions. The tomb type further allowed for small groups of people to be buried together in one grave, a development that runs parallel to the grouping of the grave constructions described above.

The rise of multi-deposition has been observed at many other burial grounds outside of Crustumerium and is strongly correlated to the introduction of the chamber tomb.

5.2 Socio-political backdrop

In order to grasp the meaning of the larger and smaller changes in the funerary customs that occurred throughout a fairly large region, it is paramount to first investigate the socio-political backdrop against which the alterations took place.

In the full Orientalising period Central Italian societies were organised in large *gens*-groups, which could consist of hundreds or thousands of people, each comprising several, co-operating agnatic families, centred on a dominant male line.[824] However, the founding father of a *gens* was 'not usually of a recognisable human world'[825]; they were supposedly of a mythical origin, reflecting constructs of a later date.[826] The stories about the origin of the *gentes* served as a means to explain the family name, but did not represent the defining feature of the *gens*; the idea of common descent was central.

The *gentes* were based on the *gens-clientes* principle and governed by individuals that acted as protectors of the rest of the community; [827] by 'controlling the movement of property in and out of their group' and by preventing the failure of a single family, they were able to guarantee the long-term survival of the gens.[828]

These leading individuals must have emerged by consent or by *force majeure* and not by entitlement, since the *gentes* were acephalous.[829] Eventually, they started to separate themselves from the society at large, claiming their aristocratic privileges.[830]

Smith has rightly argued that the *gens* cannot be easily detected archaeologically.[831] Indeed, the funerary archive of Crustumerium does not permit the reconstruction of *gentes* or clans at the site. The tomb clusters identified at the burial ground of Monte del Bufalo for example, are very small and were in use for a relatively short period of time. The (partial) superimposition of many of the tombs inside these clusters does suggest social or familial relationships between the interred individuals, but there is no way of knowing whether these small groups formed part of larger social bodies, such as a *gens*.

The emergence of an aristocracy went hand in hand with the territorial expansion of the protohistoric centres.[832] Based on the characteristics of the tombs in the Tyrrhenian area, Etruria, Latium and Campania, it is believed that already at the beginning of the 8th century BC there was an unequal distribution of wealth.[833] The monumental tombs that appeared in the first half of the 7th century BC, furnished with an elaborate set of costly (imported) objects,[834] suggest that from this period onwards, societies were

824 Smith 2006, 15-17; Terrenato 2011, 233. The people pertaining to a *gens* would have 'the blood of the same ultimate parent' (Smith 2006, 33 citing the characterisation of the Iulii family).
825 Smith 2006, 40.
826 Smith 2006, 32-44.
827 Smith 1996, 190; Torelli 1988, 241-243; Ampolo 1980, 185.
828 Smith 2006, 305.
829 Smith 2006, 34.
830 These people may have been regarded as protectors, because of heredity or because of merit (Smith 1996, 112).
831 Smith 2006, 147-153.
832 Torelli 1988, 243.
833 Torelli 1988, 246.
834 Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2000, 18

governed by *reges* and *principes*.[835] The construction of monumental buildings (e.g. *regiae*) in the second half of the 7th and full 6th century BC is regarded as further proof for the presence of *reges* and *principes* in Latium and Etruria.[836] The Latial communities underwent two simultaneous processes during the late 7th and full 6th century, namely state formation and urbanisation, finally culminating in the city-state.[837] It is believed that these two developments mark the operation of a central political authority.[838]

Even though the so-called *tombe principesche* are so far lacking from the funerary archive at Crustumerium, there are numerous other indications that suggest that state formation and urbanisation took shape at Crustumerium as well. The construction of large infrastructural and defensive works and the creation of a number of monumental buildings[839] suggest the presence of a central authority which was able to organise and guide a substantial workforce.

Social differentiation increased during the late 7th century BC, when aristocratic life started to be partially based on the systematic exploitation of the human resources of the community[840] and when territory was appropriated by the wealthy.[841] The *gens*, represented by the *patronus*,[842] would have undertaken military leadership and political and religious representation, supported by the produce of the *clientes* and their numbers in battle.[843] The mutual dependency of the *patronus* and the *cliens* was based on *fides* (faith); the patron promised protection in exchange for the client's obedience.[844] The existence of private armies is, among others, attested by military scenes displayed on various terracotta roof systems dating to the 6th century.[845] Towards the end of the 6th century BC, Rome's monarchy had gradually turned into a tyranny.[846] It is around this time that Crustumerium presumably ceased to exist as a primary centre, and it was gradually abandoned after it had been conquered by the expanding city of Rome.[847]

From the 6th century BC onwards, the *gens* would have been threatened from the inside by smaller family units which distinguished themselves by means of talent and wealth, preventing the clan from acting as a unified body.[848]

Whilst luxury commodities had first marked the social hierarchy of the community as a whole, they were later being used to emphasize one's individual power or that of the family with respect to the rest of the community, and finally functioned as part of a 'political' act. Prestige goods purchased through exploitation of surplus production and human resources enabled the elite to mark out its social standing.[849] Wealth must have been concentrated in the hands of a few until the beginning of the 5th century BC, enabling conspicuous consumption by an elite.[850]

However, whilst prestige goods had been wholly or partially sacrificed (i.e. deposited in the tombs) until Latial period IVA, from period IVB onwards, resources controlled by the elite were utilized for the common good, for example for the creation of temples and other public buildings.[851] The first urban settlements appear in Etruria and Latium around the middle of the 8th century BC.[852] By the end of the 7th century BC not only the city of Rome, but most of the settlements in Latium Vetus and Etruria must have obtained an urban character and had presumably reached an advanced stage of state formation.[853] Huts were gradually being replaced by houses with a stone foundation and town-planning rose.[854] Central political places were being reorganised and furnished with monumental cult sites[855] and fortification works were added to many settlements.[856] The sense of a local, urban identity was advancing in the 6th century BC, and the aristocracy was 'defining its duties and its privileges more and more sharply, perhaps because these were clearer and more manifold in an urban context than before'.[857] In the course of the 6th century BC, the territory of Rome was being expanded through the occupation of the *campagna* by the *tribù rustiche*.[858] According to literary sourc-

835 Torelli 1988, 248; Cornell 2000, 212.
836 Torelli 1988, 249-252; Cifani 2010, 58.
837 Cornell 2000, 212; Cifani 2010, 58.
838 Cornell 2000, 212.
839 See also the section *5.3.2 Altered locus of investment and/or status expression*.
840 Smith 1996, 112-113.
841 Smith 1996, 192.
842 Torelli 1988, 243.
843 Smith 1996, 190; Torelli 1988, 245-246.
844 Torelli 1988, 243.
845 Winter 2009, 580; Torelli 1988, 246. A fragment of a terracotta plaque displaying a military procession has been found at the settlement of Crustumerium (Amoroso & Barbina 2003).
846 Torelli 1988, 256; Pallottino 1990, 5.
847 Amoroso 1997, 34-35; Amoroso 2002a, 316-325; Amoroso 2008, 1.
848 Smith 1996, 194.
849 Smith 1996, 112.
850 Smith 1996, 189.
851 Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2000, 29.
852 Torelli 1988, 247.
853 Terrenato 2011, 234; Smith 2007, 168-169; Cornell 2000, 212.
854 Smith 1996, 111, 140; Cornell 2000, 212.
855 Smith 2007, 169; Smith 1996, 111, 140.
856 Smith 1996, 140-141.
857 Smith 1996, 221.
858 Torelli 1988, 252.

es, the 'tribù clustumina' became the 21st clan of Rome in 495 BC and the settlement and territory of Crustumerium would have formed part of the Ager Romanus from then on.[859] The Crustumerian Tribe was the first to be named after its territory and not after an aristocratic family.[860]

As regards the cultic activities, it is generally assumed that many cults originated with one or two *gentes*, and that each *gens* had its own deity.[861] The *clientes* were not allowed to venerate their own ancestors, but identified themselves with the ancestors of the *patronus* instead.[862] As such, the private cult would have created a strong sense of unity among the members of a *gens*.[863] Senior members were presumable trusted with religious duties,[864] and although many of the private cults would later be turned into public ones, religious life remained under strong control of the aristocracy.[865] As such, religion was a means to express political hegemony.[866] Over the course of the 6th and 5th century BC, when non-blood relatives entered the *clientes* groups, the ideological and psychological value of the cult of the ancestors diminished.[867] Although many cults date back to Latial period I, it was not until the end of the 7th century BC that the construction of shrines and temples began.[868]

5.3 What caused the change?

The three major developments described in the first part of this chapter (namely the decreasing investment in the funerary realm, the transformation of funerary traditions and the increased clustering of tombs and burials) are no stand-alone phenomena; they are symptomatic of more fundamental developments that emerged from the changing socio-political situation of the period. It will be argued in the following that the decreasing investment and the transformation of funerary traditions are symptomatic of an altered locus of investment and status expression, and of an ideological shift. The clustering of tombs and burials is symptomatic of the increasing importance that was being adhered to the family or (small) social group. The section starts off with the most cited explanation for the decrease of the funerary wealth, namely the issue of sumptuary legislation, recorded on the Twelve Tables.

5.3.1 The issue of sumptuary legislation

The most cited explanation for the reduction of the funerary wealth is the issue of sumptuary legislation, recorded on the Twelve Tables.[869] (Part of) the content of the Tenth table, which deals specifically with funerary legislation, known to us thanks to Cicero's work *De Legibus*,[870] is cited in the following.

Content of the table

It was prohibited to bury or cremate a corpse within the city walls; the funeral pyre should only be smoothed with an axe[871]; only ten flute players were allowed at a funeral in order to prevent lamentation; the women in the procession could only wear three mourning shawls[872] and a small purple tunic; they were not allowed to lacerate their cheeks as a sign of mourning and neither were they allowed to raise a funeral lamentation (*lessum*); no bones were to be taken from the corpse in order to hold a secondary funeral; anointing with oil by slaves or *circumpotatio* (passing the cup) was prohibited. Costly sprinklings, long garlands and boxes of incense were prohibited, as well as pouring a myrrh drink on the corpse. No gold could be buried

859 Livy II, 21, 7 and XLII, 32, 2. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.9. The date of the founding of the *Tribù* is debated. Some plead for an early date, around 499 or 495 BC, whereas others are convinced that it came into being only after the conquest of Fidenae (426 BC) or after the victory over Veii (387 BC). See Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, 30-33 for an overview of the discussion. The early date for the founding of the Tribú coincides very well with the decline in archaeological material in this period, as has been observed during the survey investigation of the settlement by Amoroso (Amoroso 2002a, 316-322).

860 Amoroso 2002b, 266.

861 Smith 1996, 198-199.

862 Torelli 1988, 244.

863 Smith 1996, 199; Torelli 2000, 198.

864 This explains why even in the Late Republic, priestly offices were restricted to patricians (Smith 1996, 202).

865 This situation applied to Rome (Smith 1996, 202), but was probably very similar in other (urban) settlements.

866 Smith 1996, 221.

867 Torelli 1988, 245.

868 Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2000, 29-30; Cornell 2000, 212; Torelli 2000, 199.

869 The Tables would have been inspired by the Greek laws of Solon (see Colonna 1981, 230; Ampolo 1980, 186; Bartoloni 1987, 142 and Toher 2005, 268-269) going by the contributions of ancient authors who report that a special committee was sent to Greece to learn about its legislation (Liv. III, 31 and Dion. Hal. X, 51). However, Engels remarks that legislation regarding funerary practices cannot be ascribed to one specific period or one type of government, since it appeared as early as the 7th century BC in both democratic and tyrannical regimes (Engels 1998, 75). Van Berchem questions the Greek parallel, because the laws of Solon predate the Twelve Tables by more than a century. If the aforementioned committee really did go to Greece, it would have been aware of the amendments made by Pericles at that time (Van Berchem 1966, 744-745). Toher suspects that the committee might have gone to cities in Magna Grecia, where the same laws applied (Toher 2005, 268).

870 It is believed that Cicero expected his audience to know the text on the table by heart and therefore only cited part of it (Ampolo 1980, 186-187, note 136; Ampolo 1984, 81, 84).

871 Or trowel, as translated by Zetzel 1999.

872 Naso has a different interpretation of this passage; it would state that the dead (female) should not be buried with more than three *reciniae* (mourning shawls) and one purple tunica (Naso 1990, 250).

or cremated with the body, unless it was in the teeth of the deceased; no new grave mound or pyre was to be built within sixty feet of the structure of another man without consent of that man; and the entrance of a tomb or grave mound could not be acquired by *usucapio* or the right of long usage.[873]

The Tenth Table is a very important source of information regarding funerary legislation, since it represents the first to ever be passed, forming part of Rome's earliest surviving law code.[874]

It is believed that the Twelve Tables were issued by the Decemvirate around the middle of the 5th century BC, as a result of the strongly felt need to condemn the *tryphé* (extravagance) and *habrosyne* (luxury) of the elite, [875] which would ultimately culminate in the Conflict of the Orders. The exposition of the dead body, the funerary banquet and the deposition of the deceased inside the tomb had all been occasions to display the wealth and prestige of the *gruppo gentilizio*.[876] Indeed, the gift of a corredo which had originally been a merely ritual act, had later on transpired the mundane exhibition of aristocratic prestige,[877] and it was this practice that the anti-luxury laws aimed to restrict.[878] Because of the fact that the reduction of the funerary wealth is believed to have been dramatic, many scholars retain that the phenomenon can only be explained as an effect of the adoption of sumptuary laws or analogue provisions.[879]

The sumptuary laws would have been designed to curtail the excessive exhibition of wealth by the aristocrats and the oligarchs, and to normalize the social situation.[880] The sumptuary laws were anti-aristocratic in character, but issued by members of the aristocracy,[881] aspiring to equality and isonomy.[882] The legislation would have created new ethical and political values and life and social relations were being perceived in a new way; the Homeric *areté* (excellence) assumed moral connotations, *ponos* (labour) opposed *habrosyne* (luxury) and *nomos* (law) and *dike* (justice) were elevated.[883] It is believed that the sumptuary legislation could be successfully implemented, because it was supported by a large stratum of society, namely the members of the elite who would have recognised themselves in the ancient principles of equality.[884] The radical change in the aristocratic lifestyle should, according to Colonna, be related to the *rifondazione ideale* of the city that took place in the late 7th and 6th century.[885]

A problematic explanation

A problematic aspect of the connection between the reduction of the funerary wealth and the issue of the Twelve Tables is the large time gap between the two. Whereas tombs lacking a corredo start to appear around the beginning of the 6th century, the Twelve Tables would have been issued around the middle of the 5th century BC.[886] Scholars have tried to overcome the *post quem* date of the Tables by stating that they essentially codified a practice which had been in use for a long period of time, putting a seal on what was already happening.[887]

Another problem of this explanatory model is that sumptuary legislation was probably seldom effective in antiquity,[888] and to presume that the laws had had such a great impact would be too positive a theory.[889] Toher states that a political explanation for the introduction of funerary legislation is unwarranted and unsupported

873 After Toher 2005, 269.
874 Smith 2006, 21.
875 Colonna 1981, 230; Naso 1990, 249.
876 Ampolo 1980, 187.
877 The public exhibition of wealth at funerals has been described by Polibius with regard to the roman *nobilitas* (VI, 53-54) (Ampolo 1984, 80).
878 Cataldi Dini 1981a, 34. However, as Colonna rightly states, the gift giving to the dead had in many cases nothing to do with the exhibition of luxury (Colonna 1981, 230).
879 Ampolo 1980, 186. The suddenness of the phenomenon leads Cataldi Dini to suspect that juridical-political factors were at play as well (Cataldi Dini 1981a, 33).
880 Ampolo 1980, 187.
881 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 66.
882 Colonna 1977, 158. It is believed that the anachronistic *tryphé* of rulers such as Tarquinius Superbus would have eventually led to their downfall, because the elite became impatient with this kind of behaviour which they were themselves no longer allowed to display (Colonna 1981, 230).
883 Colonna 1981, 230.
884 Colonna states that the Roman ideals of *virtus* and *pietas* may be traced back to the 6th and 5th centuries BC (Colonna 1981, 231).
885 Translation: ideal refounding (Colonna 1981, 230).
886 The Tables would have been issued in 451 BC (Naso 1990, 250 with references).
887 Colonna 1981, 229; Ampolo 1980, 186; Ampolo 1984, 81; Cataldi Dini 1981a, 33-34; Ross Holloway 1994, 170-171; Toher 2005, 279.
888 Bartoloni *et al.* stress that a reduction of investment in funerals and tombs could not yet be observed at the time of Solon (Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 65). See also note 894.
889 Cornell 1995, 107 and Smith 1997, 187. Cornell even formulates a rule of thumb stating that 'the least likely explanation for changes in social behaviour is that they are wished for by governments' (Cornell 1995, 107). Naso, on the contrary, finds proof of the effectiveness of the laws in the fact that people were almost without exception buried outside of the urban limits, as prescribed by the Tenth Table (Naso 1990, 250). However, burying the dead outside the inhabited area was common practice already in the 10th century BC (Ampolo 1984b, 81).

Ampolo cites the *montatura* of gold inside the teeth of an individual buried in a tomb at Satricum dating to the last quarter of the 7th century BC as proof for the existence of some sort of sumptuary legislation in this period (Ampolo 1984, 81).

by ancient evidence;[890] indeed, the funerary laws have 'no direct relevance to the Conflict of the Orders'[891] and 'political reform and isonomy are nowhere evident as motivation' for funerary regulations.[892]

Yet another problematic aspect of the Tenth Table is that, although it speaks of limitation of elements accompanying the deceased in the grave, it does not promote a total abandonment of this usage.[893] Indeed, most regulations refer to the way to conduct when attending a funeral.[894] Ampolo has explained the lack of references to the tomb and its contents by pointing at the fact that Cicero's citation of the Tenth Table in his *De Legibus* is probably not complete, because his public would have known its contents by heart.[895] According to Ampolo and others, the original document must have been far more elaborate,[896] and may thus have contained (more) regulations that restricted the funerary wealth.

However, according to Cornell, the Table does not refer to the funerary gifts, because they would have no longer formed part of the practice.[897] Legislators would have focused on the public aspect of the funeral, because these were the practices legislators tried to abolish.[898] As a result, the funerary practices would have changed from prospective to retrospective; from practices that benefited the living to those that benefited the dead.[899]

Archaeological reality

Apart from the issues described above, the most difficult problem to solve is the fact that the archaeological reality does not sit well with the desired practice as it is recorded on the Tenth Table. It has been stated above that the suddenness of the change has been seen as proof of the introduction of sumptuary laws. However, Cornell has stressed that the decrease in funerary wealth was *gradual* rather than sudden and he therefore assumes that the changed funerary practice gave rise to the sumptuary laws, rather than the other way around.[900] The analysis of the funerary data of Crustumerium does indeed suggest that most of the burial customs changed gradually rather than suddenly. The custom to accompany the dead with grave gifts, for example, did not come to a full stop overnight.[901]

The investigation of the changing burial customs at Crustumerium has further revealed that hardly any of the regulations could be retraced in the funerary data collected at the site. Many regulations simply do not apply to the situation encountered at Crustumerium; since cremation burials have hardly been attested. The references to the funeral pyre, for example, are of no relevance. Many other regulations, such as the restriction on the number of flute players, the number of mourning shawls worn by the women attending the funeral ceremony, and the rules regarding *lessum* and lamentation cannot be retraced in the archaeological archive. The archaeological evidence that does exist further suggests that most of the other regulations were being ignored or even violated. The occurrence of drinking and pouring vessels, even in the tombs dating to the last phase of the burial grounds that hardly contain any other items, suggests that people did not abide by the regulation that restricted the *circumpotatio* ritual. In addition, many of the tombs dating to the IVB/Archaic period yielded aryballoi and alabastra that originally presumably contained oil for the anointment of the corpse, conflicting with the ban on this practice recorded on the Tenth Table.

The incongruence between the sumptuary legislation and the archaeological reality demonstrates that explaining the changes in the burial customs through the issue of the Twelve Tables is unwarranted and that alternative explanatory models are called for.

5.3.2 Altered locus of investment and/or status expression

The decrease of the funerary wealth has often been viewed in connection with the contemporaneous increase of building activity in the settlements. It has been stated that the issue of the sumptuary legislative norms that prevented the display of status and

890 Toher 2005, 270, 275.
891 Toher 2005, 270.
892 Toher 2005, 276.
893 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 65. Only at Sparta the custom of gift giving to the dead seems to have stopped completely. In all other regions, including Rome and Latium Vetus, we can observe no more than a reduction of the funerary assemblage (Bartoloni 1987, 143).
894 Cornell 1995, 107.
895 Ampolo 1980, 186-187, note 136; Ampolo 1984, 81 and 84.
896 Ampolo 1984, 84; Colonna 1981, 229. Toher, on the contrary, assumes that we have relatively complete idea of the contents of the Tenth Table (Toher 2005, 279).
897 Cornell 1995, 108.
898 Cornell 1995, 108. Ampolo finds proof for this suggestion in the specification Cicero makes regarding the maximum number of flute players that were allowed at a funeral. According to Ampolo, the presence of these flute players indicates that a procession was part of the funeral (Ampolo 1984, 86). The practice would have been curtailed, because the funeral had started to look too much like a religious or magistrate *pompus* (Ampolo 1984, 86). Another indication that the laws (almost exclusively) aimed at the public aspect of the funeral, is the specification regarding the mourning expressions. These were prohibited at the funeral itself (*funeris ergo*), but there is no mention of a ban on these expressions in the private environment (Ampolo 1984, 86-87).
899 Cornell 1995, 107.
900 Cornell 1995, 107.
901 See Chapter 3, *3.4 The grave goods*.

wealth on the burial grounds, forced people to pursue alternative routes to affirm their social position.[902] However, this idea is based on the assumption that people readily complied with the anti-luxury laws, a theory that is now generally regarded as overoptimistic, as has been described above.

The high degree of 'expressive redundancy' on the burial grounds is perhaps a more plausible explanation for the two contemporaneous developments; status could no longer be effectively expressed through grave gifts or grave constructions, because the innovative expressions in the funerary ritual initiated by the highest social levels, such as the Orientalising banquet and the monumental chamber tombs were later being copied (and emulated) by individuals of lower social strata. As such, the expressions lost their original symbolic association, forcing the elite to abandon them and invent new forms of expression, maintaining control over status associations.[903] This phenomenon is referred to as 'cyclical change in the ostentation of the funerary ritual'.[904] Since 'ostentation was not an unchanging measure of social status but followed a cycle of status associations from high to low',[905] it would eventually have led to restraint as 'the only available avenue of distinction'.[906]

The elite families that had previously manifested their wealth and prestige by means of monumental tomb structures, elaborate funerary processions, banquets and costly grave gifts, would later have shifted their attention away from the world of the dead, towards that of the living,[907] investing in private dwellings and public buildings and, most importantly, in sanctuaries.[908]

The redirection of resources from the graves to public structures enabled elite families to make a lasting mark on the urban culture of the settlements, and as such, as Smith argues, the 'cultural choice to move to expenditure on conspicuous buildings is deeply bound up with the evolution of an urban society'.[909] The erection of temples and other public buildings would have become 'a way of differentiating a narrow elite from a wider group',[910] since the creation of this type of structures required a far larger input of time and resources than the creation of a grave had done.

Due to the devastating effects of ploughing activity in the past decennia, investigations at the settlement of Crustumerium have so far yielded relatively little evidence of monumental building activity. However, the large quantities of Archaic tile fragments and a few architectonic terracotta fragments retrieved in systematic surveys of the site,[911] do suggest that the settlement plateau of Crustumerium must have been densely occupied with smaller and larger structures. Indeed, recent geomagnetic surveys have detected a structure of about 40 by 60 m, just south of the Fossato, oriented perpendicular to the defensive ditch.[912] Even though the relation of this feature in time and space to the rest of the settlement is to be examined further, the presence of this structure and the existence of monumental infrastructural works that connected the site to its hinterland, prove that also at Crustumerium wealth was being invested in the urban domain and in structures that benefitted the common good.

The shifting locus of investment must have entailed a contemporaneous change in the character of religious activities. Whilst the rites performed in the funerary domain supposedly had a rather private character,[913] the sanctuaries erected in the settlements facilitated religious practices that were open to the public.[914] In this respect Tuck has noted that '… we may be able to see an evolution in Central Italy from expressions of monumentality arising exclusively from familial interests into ones whereby familial interests are balanced against those of more broadly defined urban communities'.[915]

Indeed, whilst the chamber tombs had been created to bury the members of a small family and to stress and enhance their social status, the buildings

902 With regard to the absence of tombs dating to the period between the 6th and the 4th century BC both at Rome and at Palestrina, Zevi remarks the following: '… il silenzio della necropoli si accompagna ad uno sviluppo dei santuari che fa pensare, forse per esplicite norme giuridiche, ad una mutate destinazione dell'accumolo di richezza' (translation: the silence of the necropolis is paired with a development of the sanctuaries which suggests, maybe as the result of explicit juridical norms, a changed destination for the accumulation of wealth) (Zevi 1976a, 214).

903 Cannon 1989, 439.

904 Cannon 1989, 444.

905 Cannon 1989, 442.

906 Cannon 1989, 444. See also Parker Pearson 1982.

907 Ampolo 1980, 185-186; Smith 1996, 85; Drago Troccoli 1997, 270; Bartoloni 1987, 143-159.

908 The decorative systems of some temples would have been donations intended to represent the elevated social status of the donator, just as the elaborate sets of grave gifts had done in the previous period (Bartoloni 1987, 144).

909 Smith 1996, 187. He further states that the desire for more permanent memorials may represent the evolution of a more stable aristocracy (Smith 1996, 187).

910 Smith 1996, 188.

911 Amoroso & Barbina 2003.

912 Attema *et al.* in press. The structure is related to three monumental walls, built up from large tuff blocks, situated just north of the Fossato (Barbaro et al. 2008).

913 Ampolo mentions the first law on the Tenth Table that forbade the construction of tombs in public places, because of the incompatibility with the private character of the (funerary) religion (Ampolo 1984b, 83).

914 Beijer 1992, 114.

915 Tuck 2012, 42.

created in the urban arena could be enjoyed by the public at large. That is not to say that the building activity did not serve as a means for the negotiation of social status. Situating large constructions in the urban area guaranteed a much larger visibility of the wealth of the family and the amount of resources it was willing and able to invest for the public interest.

5.3.3 Ideological shift

Many of the changes in the burial customs which have been listed as indications of a decreasing investment in the funerary realm or as symptomatic of the transformation of former funerary traditions may have been prompted by two new ideological concepts, namely the belief in an afterlife and the idea that human beings were equipped with a soul or spirit that would leave the body after death. The changes that are symptomatic of these new concepts are discussed below.

Belief in an afterlife

There are two developments that suggest that people had started to believe in an afterlife in the IVB/Archaic period; the dwindling number (and ultimately, the total disappearance) of banqueting vessels and of other personal (functional and ornamental) objects that were being deposited inside the graves, and the dimensional reduction of the space reserved for the burial.

Several scholars have proposed that the decreasing funerary wealth resulted from an altered concept of the tomb and the afterlife. Whilst the grave had for a long time been regarded as the last resting place of the deceased in which the dead person resided forever, as such requiring various different accompanying objects, this "primitive concept" [916] would have been overcome around the end of the 7th century BC.[917] This would explain why the IVB/Archaic tomb contained so few banqueting vessels and personal objects.

The fact that the IVB/Archaic loculus tombs at Crustumerium were not equipped with a head niche (the loculus was now only just large enough to hold the body of the deceased),[918] may signal that excluding the accompanying banqueting set had become accepted practice and that the architectural lay-out of the tombs had been adapted according to the new (less demanding) requirements of the rite.[919]

Another indication of the belief in an afterlife can be deduced from the typo-chronological evolution of the funerary architecture at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, which shows that the sepulchral space increased until Latial period IVA, to be subsequently reduced again in the IVB/Archaic period.[920] Whilst the corpses were simply being deposited on the bottom of the shaft of the fossa which was then filled back with tuff rubble during Latial period II and III, from Latial period IVA onwards the fossa tombs (now furnished with a head niche) were elaborated with horizontally placed tuff slabs that rested on lateral ridges, creating an open space for the deposition of the burial underneath while contemporaneously preventing the heavy load of the filling from landing directly on top of the interred individual (inside the casket). The *tipo Narce* tombs, introduced around the end of the 8th century BC, offered an even larger open space for the placement of the burial. The tombs were equipped with a lateral loculus that was dug out in the wall of the shaft and closed off by a row of large,

916 Palmieri 2009, 373.

917 'Se infatti la presenza del corredo funebre è realmente legata all'idea della sopravvivenza del defunto oltre la morte, il tipo di sepoltura priva degli oggetti di accompagno e degli ornamenti personali del morto, implica evidentemente l'abbandono di tale concetto 'religioso', con la conseguente rinunzia ad indicare lo *status* sociale del defunto.' (Cataldi Dini 1977, 327; translation: If, in fact, the presence of a funerary corredo is really linked to the idea of the survival of the deceased after its death, the type of burial without accompanying objects and the personal ornaments of the dead, evidently implies the abandonment of that 'religious' concept, with the consequent renunciation of indicating the social status of the deceased). The influence of sumptuary legislation is, however, not being ruled out (Cataldi Dini 1981a, 33-34). In reference to the 5th century BC burial customs in Etruria, Colonna has suggested in a similar vein that the rise of a religious belief in an afterlife reduced the tomb from a final resting place to the first stop on a journey to the *oltretomba* (Colonna 1981, 230). Note, however, that in Etruria the custom to furnish the tomb with all sorts of objects and to accompany the dead with a corredo continued until a much later date (Colonna 1981, 230).

918 See Chapter 3, *3.2.1 Alterations in traditional tomb architecture*.

919 This has also been suggested by Belelli Marchesini (see Belelli Marchesini 2008; 2012).

920 See Chapter 3, *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium*.

vertical tuff slabs, which ensured that only the shaft of the tomb was filled back with tuff rubble, whilst the sepulchral space remained open (or hollow). In the first examples of chamber tombs, which appeared at the burial grounds of Crustumerium around the middle of the 7th century BC, an entire room was devoted to the deposition of one or more burials. Just as the sepulchral loculi of the *tipo Narce* tombs, the chambers were closed off by large tuff slabs, ensuring that the chamber remained an open, hollow space when the dromos was filled up.

The development towards an increasingly large and open sepulchral space may have been prompted by ideological considerations; the belief that the interred individual lived on inside the tomb may have led people to enlarge the burial space.[921] The process eventually culminated in the creation of an entire sepulchral room.

However, during the IVB/Archaic period, the dimensions of the sepulchral space were being significantly reduced. The burials inside the chamber tombs were now mostly deposited inside small loculi, often even closed off with tiles,[922] and the loculi inside the *tipo Narce* tombs, which were closed off with piles of tuff rubble, were generally very short and narrow as well.[923]

The reduction of the burial space is possibly indicative of a shifted ideological concept of death and the afterlife. Just as the decrease of the amount of accompanying grave gifts from the end of the 7th century BC onwards may signal that people had stopped believing that the interred individual lived on inside the grave; the dimensional reduction of the sepulchral space may indicate that a large open space was no longer required, since it was believed that the tomb was only a first stop on the journey to the hereafter.

Belief in a spirit

It will be argued in the following that the frequent occurrence of secondary deposition, the re-introduction of the cremation burial and the altered character of the closing systems inside the tombs, suggest that people may have started to believe in a spirit.

Secondary deposition

The appearance of the chamber tomb on the Central Italian burial grounds had a considerable impact on the execution of the funerary rite, because the spaciousness of the sepulchral room not only enabled the deposition of more than one person inside a single tomb, it also allowed for physical interaction with the remains of previously interred individuals, a practice that started to occur quite frequently. Both the re-opening of the tombs and the rearrangement of older burials constitute a break with the funerary customs that had been practiced in large parts of Central Italy for centuries.

At Crustumerium, the dead had always been buried in simple fossa tombs or somewhat more elaborate loculus tombs, which were designed to house a single burial.[924] The individuals buried in the fossa and loculus tombs would in principle remain untouched for all eternity once they had been deposited in the tomb. The monumental closing systems that had been added to the tomb structures from Latial period III onwards, presumably further helped to safeguard the dead from interference of unwanted outsiders. There are only a few examples of fossa and loculus tombs of which the filling of the shaft had been partially emptied to facilitate the deposition of an additional burial.[925] In these cases, the tomb architecture was often slightly altered as well. However, the burial that had entered the grave first was left untouched, as it was protected by the closing system and the (remaining) filling of the shaft.

Thanks to the introduction of the chamber tomb around the middle of the 7th century BC it had become possible to use a funerary monument more than once, instead of creating a new tomb for every newly deceased individual, as had been customary in the past. In many cases, the re-opening of a previously used tomb entailed the rearrangement of older depositions inside of them; in order to make room for a new burial, the (often already decomposed) body of an older burial was taken from its original location. At the burial grounds of Crustumerium the skeletal remains were pushed towards a wall, heaped up in a corner of a loculus or chamber, or placed on the floor of the tomb.

The introduction of multi-depositional tombs entailed a change in the attitude towards the dead,

921 The addition of a side loculus to the tombs at the Casale del Fosso burial ground at Veii is regarded as a 'diversa concezione del rito della sepoltura'. Translation: a different conception of the burial rite (Buranelli *et al.* 1997, 77).

922 A practice that has for example been attested in MDB/T032 and MDB/T222.

923 See Chapter 3, *Changing closing systems*. An example is the loculus of MDB/T254 which barely provided enough space for the burial of the male adult individual (see the Tomb Catalogue).

924 The only exception to this rule is formed by the *tipo Montarano* tombs, which were equipped with two loculi that could each house a burial. It should be noted, however, that only five examples of this tomb type have surfaced to date, all of them located on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground (see also Chapter 3, *3.1 The chronological development of the funerary ritual at Crustumerium*).

925 See Chapter 3, note 408.

because even if the previously interred individuals were left untouched at the time of re-opening the tomb, the people that entered the grave to perform a subsequent funeral would still have had some sort of visual interaction with the older burials and must have been well aware of their (more or less advanced state of) decomposition. Whilst the fossa and loculus tombs carefully concealed the disintegration of the body from the surviving community, this process was on the contrary very well visible for the people that entered the chamber tombs at a later moment. Only if the corpses had been placed inside a loculus that was subsequently sealed off with tiles, the process of decomposition would have been concealed.

There are numerous examples of (chamber) tombs in which the decomposed remains of older burials were indeed touched, handled and moved in such a way that the newly deceased individual could be fitted into the tomb comfortably. Although one can assume that people were rather familiar with the face of death, presumably much more so than we are today,[926] the visibility of the decomposed body inside the chamber tomb and the physical interaction with it constitute new aspects of the funerary ritual.

Eternal rest was not guaranteed for the people buried inside the multi-depositional (chamber) tombs, and although one might have expected to find evidence of expiation rites performed at the time of reburying or re-depositing the skeletal remains in order to appease the disturbed dead, there are hardly any indications for the execution of such a practice at Crustumerium,[927] nor at any other burial ground in Central Italy for that matter.[928] Indeed, if rituals were being carried out, they left no archaeologically traceable evidence.

The (extended) visibility of the decomposed body, the rearrangement of previously buried individuals and the absence of expiation rites transpire an altered ideological attitude towards death, the dead body and the burial. It seems as though the physical integrity of the body was no longer respected or not considered of (major) importance, at least not when it had already started to decompose. Taking this argument a step further, one could even hypothesize that people had started to believe in an entity existing and enduring outside of the body, i.e. a soul or spirit.[929]

Spirited objects

The new concept of an alienable soul or spirit may also have caused the decrease in the number of personal ornaments that accompanied the deceased inside the tomb. During the 8th and 7th century BC it was believed that the deceased was or could still be partially alive and that he or she could only be detached from the world of the living once the burial ritual had been completed, as such forming the final rite of passage; the spirit of the deceased would not leave until the funerary rites had been properly executed.[930] It would further have been believed that the personal objects of the deceased not only represented the dead person; they *were* him or her. The personal objects were thus inalienable from the deceased and the spirited objects had to follow the spirit of the deceased in the grave. Ampolo stresses that this practice, which stemmed from a religious belief, was very old and occurred all over Latium Vetus.[931] The fact that the personal objects had apparently become alienable, and were thus no longer required to follow the deceased in the grave, indicates that the belief in the almost religious character of the objects had ceased.[932]

Division between the living and the dead

Another development that can possibly be explained in the light of an altered ideological concept of death is the increasingly less rigid maintenance of the division between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Support for this theory can be found in the decreasing quality of the closing systems and in the altered spatial relation between the burial and the banqueting set, as will be shown below. Although the dromoi of the newly introduced chamber tombs can be regarded as proof of a development in the opposite direction, it will be shown that the characteristics of these long entrance ways were borne out of practical considerations, rather than ideological ones.

926 See Parker Pearson on the distancing of death in recent and contemporary Britain (Parker Pearson 2005, 47-49).

927 Apart from a few cases in which the secondarily treated individual had been carefully covered (and in one case accompanied by an olletta), none of them seems to have received any kind of a special treatment. See also Chapter 3, *3.5.2 Secondary deposition*.

928 Two miniature vessels were deposited in a grave at Ficana when it had been accidentally disturbed at the occasion of the creation of a new tomb, suggesting that the tomb diggers had tried to make amends (Cataldi Dini 1977, 324-326).

929 See Rajala *et al.* 2013, 76.

930 Ampolo 1984, 75. Bietti Sestieri and De Santis describe how primary burials were exposed to the elements for a given period of time during which the body decomposed. When this process had completed, the skeletal remains could be detached and rearranged (Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2000, 26). The practice has been connected to the danger that the spirit of the deceased, which was not yet separated from the body, could bring to the surviving family and the community at large (Bietti Sestieri & De Santis 2000, 27).

931 Ampolo 1984, 75-76.

932 Ampolo 1984, 97.

Alterations in the closing system

The first indication for a less rigid maintenance of the division between the dead and the living can be found in the development of the closing systems. The quality of the closing systems decreased at Crustumerium from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards; the monumental tuff slabs of the previous phase made way for piles of tuff chunks and re-used material, such as *cippi* and parts of columns. Tiles were mostly used to close off the loculi of the chamber tombs. The loculi of some *tipo Narce* tombs appear to not have been closed off at all, just as many loculi in the chamber tombs.[933] The decreasing quality of the closing systems observed at Crustumerium does not appear to be a common Central Italian feature, but the increasing use of tiles has been attested at several other sites, as has been described in Chapter 4.[934] In addition, there are many Central Italian examples of loculi in chamber tombs which had apparently not been closed off.

Assuming that the monumental tuff slabs that had closed off the niches and the loculi of the fossa and *tipo Narce* tombs had been placed in the graves in order to create a physical barrier between the world of the living and the world of the dead, being situated on the threshold between the two[935] and preventing interaction between them (either by ensuring that the spirit of the deceased would not escape from the loculus, or by creating an obstacle between the burial and the banqueting set which represented the world of the living), the decreasing quality of the closing systems and, ultimately, their total disappearance may indicate that the need to maintain the division between the two realms was no longer strongly felt.

Just as the dwindling amount of objects deposited in the graves, the less careful closure of the sepulchral space suggests that the ideological attitude towards death had changed. If indeed people no longer believed that the deceased lived on inside the tomb, a robust closing system was not required anymore, since it was no longer feared that the deceased would start wandering around.[936]

However, the fact that we know of special religious festivals in the subsequent Roman Republican period, dedicated to excorcising and propritiating the (malevolent) ghosts of the dead, such as the Lemuria and the Parentalia,[937] goes somewhat at odds with the suggestion formulated above. The iconographic information retrieved from chamber tombs in Etruria dating to the Archaic period, further indicates that spirits, or rather death-demons, were a common aspect of Etruscan ideology as well, appearing frequently in funerary iconogrpahy,[938] suggesting they were a factor people reckoned with.

The altering character of the closing systems can therefore alternatively be explained as a side effect of the reduction of the amount and quality of the grave gifts; assuming that the slabs had been placed in the grave to treasure its contents, the quality of the closing systems may have decreased in tandem with the decreasing funerary wealth.

Prolonged entrance ways

The less strongly felt need to keep the world of the living and the world of the dead apart, seems to be contradicted as well by the appearance of long entrance ways (or dromoi) from the last quarter of the 7th century BC onwards. At Crustumerium, both the Monte Michele tombs and the chamber tombs were furnished with long entrance ways.[939] At many other Central Italian burial sites the dromoi appeared as part of the chamber tombs.[940]

These dromoi were much longer than the shafts of the fossa and loculus tombs of the previous period, and it has been argued that the introduction of a prolonged entrance way may have been prompted by a desire to lengthen the 'mediative distance',[941] i.e. the distance between the in- and outside of the tomb, between the realm of the living and the realm of the dead.[942]

However, one may alternatively argue that the dromos mainly served a logistical purpose; it was a practical vehicle to reach the depth desired for the creation of a structurally sound chamber that was dug horizontally (from the entrance of the chamber towards the back wall). The fossa and loculus tombs,

933 See the sections *Changing closing systems* and *3.2.2 Introduction of new tomb types*.

934 See the section *4.1.2 Other IVB/Archaic grave constructions*.

935 Following Izzet on the division between the exterior and interior in the chamber tombs of the Banditaccia necropolis of Cerveteri (Izzet 2007).

936 According to Rajala, there must have been a clear (conceptual) boundary between the world of the dead and the world of the living which was actively marked by the closing slabs. The emphasis on the closing system would imply a certain element of fear towards the dead (Rajala *et al.* 2013, 76).

937 Felton 1999, 13.

938 MacIntosh Turfa 2013.

939 As described in Chapter 3 (*3.2.2 Introduction of new tomb types*).

940 Some chamber tombs were furnished with a caditoia, but most had been equipped with a long dromos (see Chapter 4, *Architectonic variability, construction and finishing*).

941 Tuppi 2012, 138. See also Izzet 1996.

942 See Tuppi 2012 for a description of a reversed development in Etruria, where the entrance shafts tend to get shorter and smaller from the end of the 7th century BC onwards.

on the contrary, were presumably predominantly dug in a vertical direction.

Orientation of tombs and burials

It has been stated above that the rather uniform orientation of the IIB, III and IVA tombs (and the burials inside of them) which were predominantly directed to the NE, suggests that their direction was bound by predefined rules that were dictated by ideological beliefs.

With regard to the Etruscan tumulus tombs for example, it has been argued that the circular plan of the tumuli represented the sky (which was divided between the Etruscan deities), and that the orientation of the corridor was indicative of the honouring of one or more specific deities[943] With the introduction of rock-cut tombs in the first half of the 6th century BC, the corridors almost completely disappeared, as did their relation with (aspects of) the celestial deities.[944] A similar phenomenon may have taken place at the burial grounds of Crustumerium where the wide range of directions noted for the IVB/Archaic tombs may signal that the orientation of the tombs was no longer connected to the veneration of one or more deities, as such representing yet another ideological change.

One could alternatively argue that the larger range in the orientation of the later graves was a consequence of the desire to fit a tomb within the existing distribution of tombs,[945] but the fact that the IVB/Archaic chamber tombs at the Cisterna Grande burial ground (where earlier dating tombs were hardly present) display a similarly broad range in orientation as noted at the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, suggests that directing the grave to the northern hemisphere was no longer paramount.

Altered locus of religious practice

The decrease of the funerary wealth paired with the contemporaneous increase of the number of urban sanctuaries and the rising number of objects in the associated votive deposits, attested in Latium Vetus and in Etruria,[946] has not only been explained as a symptom of expressive redundancy, but also as an indication that the locus of religious practice had moved. Whilst the ancestors had previously been venerated inside the tombs themselves,[947] the cult would later have been moved to the (open air) sanctuaries located on the burial grounds, both in Etruria[948] and in Latium Vetus.[949]

In addition, the evidence for a strong popular devotion in the settlement area in this later period is explained as a compensation for the funerary rigor practiced with regard to the graves.[950] It has been argued that a new perception of the cult of the dead caused a shift of the 'axis of the sacred' from the burial grounds to the (urban) sanctuary,[951] and that symbolic gifts continued to be used in the religious sphere, even when the custom to bury the deceased (with accompanying objects) was no longer practiced (in the 6th or 5th century BC).[952] In this respect, Bartoloni has stressed the similarity between the types of gifts placed inside the graves and those encountered in the votive deposits of the 6th century BC;[953] suggesting that the objects could be attributed to the funerary realm, but might just as well have functioned as votive offerings.[954]

One could admittedly argue that the material repertoire in this period was overall rather limited, resulting in similar items being deposited as grave gifts or as votive offerings. However, it should be noted that the functional and material composition of settlement assemblages, mostly consisting of impasto *dolia*, loom weights and *fornelli*,[955] is markedly different from the assemblages encountered in graves and votive deposits,[956] suggesting that the gifts and offerings had to fit certain well-defined criteria. Furthermore, the functional similarity between the grave and votive assemblages dating to the 6th century BC, both often containing numerous items related to pouring and drinking liquids,[957] does suggest that analogue rites were being performed in these two otherwise different contexts. The study of the differences and similarities

943 Tuppi 2012, 138-139.
944 Tuppi 2012, 140-142.
945 See section *5.3.4 Stressing social or familial ties*; *Clustering.*
946 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009; Bartoloni 1987, 144, 152.
947 This is suggested by the presence of altars inside the Tomba Campana and the Tomba delle Cinque Sedie at Caere (Camporeale 1986, 288; Riva 2010, 130), and by the presence of altars on top of tumuli (Riva 2010, 131-134).
948 The sanctuaries, which would have been dedicated to the gods of the underworld, have been attested on several burial grounds in Etruria (for example at Orvieto) and date from the beginning of the 6th century BC onwards (Colonna 1985, 116-126; Camporeale 1986, 289).
949 A temple near the burial ground of Osteria dell'Osa and a votive deposit on the Quirinal have both been interpreted as funerary sanctuaries (Fulminante 2003, 55).
950 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 85.
951 Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 86.
952 Bartoloni 1989-1990, 752.
953 Bartoloni 1987, 148-149. Note that not only the type of objects was similar, but also the foodstuffs that were being donated (Bartoloni 1989-1990, 751).
954 Bartoloni 1989-1990, 752.
955 See for example Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1980, plates XXV-LIII.
956 See for example Bouma 1996 on the votive deposit from Satricum and Van Loon forthcoming on the votive deposit of Laghetto del Monsignore near Satricum.
957 Van Loon forthcoming.

between these two (religious) contexts does, however, merit a more in depth treatment.[958]

5.3.4 Stressing social or familial ties

Yet another possible explanation for some of the changes in the burial customs is the increasing desire to stress the unity and continuity of the family. The following section investigates four aspects of the funerary rites that seem to reflect this tendency; the introduction of the chamber tomb, the clustering of small groups of tombs, the re-appearance of the cremation burial and the continuing strong presence of the house as a symbol in the funerary realm.

The introduction of the chamber tomb

It is generally believed that the people interred inside a chamber tomb were members of the same (elite) family,[959] and the tomb type is therefore regarded as a strategic means to define lines of affinity in death,[960] stressing the unity and continuity of a nuclear family.[961]

The investigations at the burial grounds of Crustumerium have occasionally yielded chamber tombs with 'empty' loculi, i.e. sepulchral niches lacking a deposition.[962] Supposing that the loculi had indeed never been used,[963] the presence of empty niches may signal that people planned ahead when creating the tomb structure. From the outset the chamber tomb would have been constructed in such a way that it could receive a subsequent burial without requiring alterations to the existing architecture at that moment, suggesting that the people who were (supposed to be) interred in the tomb later on were members of the same familial group. It should be noted, however, that subsequent construction phases are not easily identified; (additional) loculi may very well have been dug out at a later moment, but it is very hard to prove this archaeologically.[964]

However, an inventory of the age and gender of the individuals buried in the chamber tombs at Crustumerium[965] makes one wonder what these so-called families actually looked like. The large variety in the composition of the 'families' (consisting of a man and a woman, two adult men, two women and a child or several elderly women for example), suggests that the right to be buried inside the chamber tomb must have been reserved to a few (selected) members of the family. The varied composition of the groups may signal that the people buried inside the chamber tombs were not necessarily related by blood, but that they may have had other, social affiliations instead.[966]

The architectonic lay-out of the chamber tombs suggests close connections between the deposited individuals; whilst the funeral ceremony outside of the tomb may have had a public and ostentatious character, the ritual that was being executed inside the tomb was more screened off than it had been in the fossa and loculus tombs of Latial period IVA.[967] Since the chamber tombs were relatively small and generally had a low ceiling, only a small number of people would have been able to enter the grave to deposit the corpse inside the chamber. In addition, the burial ritual itself was largely concealed from the other partakers in the funeral who could not see what went on inside the sepulchral room; the body and the accompanying funerary gifts were no longer visible once they had entered the chamber. It can be argued that both the limited space inside the chamber and the secluded character of the burial stressed the importance of the social or familial ties between the few partakers in the funeral.

958 This is the aim of a forthcoming article by Van Loon and the present author, to appear in the American Journal of Archaeology.

959 Bartoloni 2003, 63.

960 Smith 1996, 98.

961 Cornell 1980, 76. A number of 4th century BC burials encountered in Orientalising or Archaic chamber tombs transpire a similar intention (see Chapter 4, *4.4.1 Multi-deposition* and Bartoloni 1987). The re-use of these old tombs would have been prompted by the desire to re-affirm one's social status and to increase one's personal prestige by means of stressing the ties with the aristocracy of the Orientalising period (De Lucia Brolli 1998, 198).

962 See Chapter 3, table 3.6.

963 Due to adverse preservation conditions the skeletal remains may have dissolved over the course of time, resulting in a seemingly empty loculus (see also Chapter 2, *Adverse preservation conditions* on the biases inherent in the preservation conditions).

964 Bietti Sestieri has been able to identify the subsequent phases of elaboration of the *Cella* Est in tomb 62 at Osteria dell'Osa, for example the addition of a loculus (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 865). The positioning of the loculi in MDB/T222 suggests, however, that especially the loculus in the back wall, behind the loculus to the right of the entrance, has been added at a later date, because its orientation is unusual and the overall lay-out of the chamber is very irregular (see the Tomb Catalogue).

965 See Chapter 3, *Age and gender distribution in the chamber tombs*.

966 With regard to the burial of individuals in a loculus in the dromos of a chamber tomb at a burial ground of Falerii, De Lucia Brolli has suggested that the person buried outside of the actual chamber, may have occupied a social position that was considerably lower than that of the people buried *inside* the chamber, but that he or she may have been connected to them by means of a gentilitial relationship (De Lucia Brolli 1998, 206).

967 See Willemsen in press.

Clustering

It has been described above how alterations in the spatial distribution of the tombs and the introduction of the multi-depositional chamber tomb resulted in clusters of tombs and burials. While we cannot reconstruct the exact nature of the groups or clusters, we may presume that the people interred in the tombs that pertained to these groups were in some way (socially) related to each other and that people aimed at stressing the social or familial ties by means of the spatial positioning of the graves.[968]

With regard to the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, Belelli Marchesini has suggested that the area may even have been subdivided in plots allotted to individual families.[969] This theory would explain why many tombs (partially) intersected each other; people would have gone out of their way to fit the tombs into the small area that had been distributed to the family or social group. It would also explain the considerable variation in the orientation of the chamber tombs observed on the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground.[970] Fitting these large tomb structures within an existing cluster was deemed of greater importance than letting their orientation coincide with that of older graves.[971]

Cremation burials

The occurrence of (a small number of) cremation burials at the burial grounds of Crustumerium and at various other sites in Central Italy dating to the IVB/Archaic period, can similarly be interpreted as a means to stress the importance of the family, more specifically, the familial lineage. The re-introduction of a burial rite that had for a long period gone out of use has been regarded as symptomatic of a desire to return to the traditional rites of the family.[972] The cremation burials of the IVB/Archaic period would have pertained to the eminent members of a given society, who intended to reattach themselves to the funerary customs of their ancestors.[973]

The house as a symbol

The occurrence of the house as a symbol in the funerary domain forms another indication of the desire to reattach to traditional burial customs, by that way stressing the importance of the family. As has been described in Chapter 3, two of the three cremation burials encountered at Crustumerium were contained in a house-shaped tuff urn. The urns fit very well in the long standing tradition of modelling the cremation urn after a hut or house.

Hut-shaped clay urns occurred in Etruria and Latium Vetus between the Final Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (10th-8th centuries BC).[974] House-shaped urns appear from the second half of the 7th century onwards, executed in clay (impasto rosso),[975] tuff or peperino.[976] There are even a few examples of house-shaped urns made of bronze sheet or silver.[977] The shape of the (roof of a) hut can further be traced in the *cippi* that marked the location of a grave, which were in use from the 8th century BC onwards.[978] Finally, some of the chamber tombs would have mirrored the lay-out of actual huts[979] or houses as well.[980] This is most obvious in the well-finished examples from Caere, dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC.[981]

In short, the hut or house was a recurrent model in the funerary realm from the early Iron Age onwards, probably because it was considered the central, defining place of a familial group. With reference to Caere, Tuck has stated the following: "… the general trajectory of the funerary architecture at Caere amplified a pre-existing Iron Age idea – already manifest in the hut urn tradition – and translated the definitional socio-political architectural space of the subsequent periods, the *domus*, into sculpted funerary sepulchres within which a given generation of an elite family was interred".[982]

It has already been stressed that the limited number of cremation burials (at Crustumerium and elsewhere) does not warrant far-reaching conclusions about their occurrence, let alone about the urns they were contained in. However, considering the fact that the cremation rite is believed to have

968 The "circoli" (i.e. circles) of tombs encountered at the burial grounds of Laurentina Acqua Acetosa have been interpreted as pertaining to different *gentes* (Bartoloni *et al.* 2009, 84).
969 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 22, 29.
970 This has also been suggested by Belelli Marchesini (Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 19).
971 See on this topic also *Orientation of tombs and burials*.
972 Bartoloni 1987, 158.
973 Bartoloni 1989-1990, 751.
974 Bartoloni *et al.* 1987, 219.
975 Impasto rosso urns decorated with white-on-red painted decoration occur at Caere from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards (Buranelli 1985, 51).
976 House-shaped urns made of tuff or peperino occur from the end of the 7th century BC onwards and have been found at various burial grounds in Central Italy (see Chapter 4, *Representations of houses*; *Urns*).
977 See Chapter 4, note 800.
978 Cippi have occasionally been found at the burial grounds of Crustumerium, but much more frequently at the burial grounds of Veii (di Gennaro 2003, 33-37; Van Kampen 2003, 37).
979 The semi-built chamber tombs of Satricum are ellipsoid in plan and are therefore believed to have mirrored contemporary hut structures (Waarsenburg 1995, 319).
980 See Riva 2010, 109, note 1 for further citation and a critique on this point of view.
981 Riva 2010, 109.
982 Tuck 2012, 50.

been chosen to reaffirm ties with the family, the shape of the urn may have been modelled after the house for analogue reasons.

5.4 Conclusion

This dissertation has aimed at shedding light on the so-called '*periodo oscuro*' of the burial grounds in Latium Vetus and the wider region of Central Italy. Latial period IVB and the Archaic period have been characterised as obscure, because very few tombs could be ascribed to this timeframe and because the tombs that did pertain to it generally contained a very small amount of grave gifts. The ongoing excavations on the burial grounds of Crustumerium, to the contrary, have yielded a large number of IVB/Archaic tombs, enabling an in depth study of this Latial site and providing valuable new insights into the phenomena at play in this period.

The issue of sumptuary legislation (recorded on the Twelve Tables) has been at the centre of the discussion evolving around the reasons for the reduction of the funerary wealth. The analysis of the burial data from Crustumerium has shown, however, that this explanatory model is not supported by the archaeological reality, because the regulations were either not traceable in the funerary archive or even contradicted by it. If anything, the characteristics of the IVB/Archaic tombs at Crustumerium transpire a lack of compliance with any kind of organising principle or regulation.

Indeed, the study of the Crustumerium tombs has demonstrated that the reduction of the funerary wealth was only one of many changes that occurred during the IVB/Archaic period. The alterations in the funerary customs occurred in four different mortuary domains; the domain of the grave construction, the placement (of the tombs) in the burial ground, the funerary wealth and the domain of the body. The most important changes within each domain have been summarised in the introduction to Chapter 5.

As mentioned, the investigation of the archaeological data, both from Crustumerium and from sites in its vicinity, has brought up myriad changes in the burial customs in the IVB/Archaic period, each of which might have been caused by another factor or development. In order to make sense of the more general evolution of the burial practices in this period, in the present study, the many changes have been grouped into three major developments; the changes are regarded as indicative of a decreasing investment in the funerary realm, a transformation of former funerary traditions and of a clustering of tombs and burials. A comparative study of the burial data from other sites in Central Italy (Southern Etruria, the Faliscan and the Sabine region) has shown that most of the changes observed at Crustumerium occurred at these other burial grounds as well, suggesting that the changes in the funerary customs transcended the local level and must have been caused by region-wide developments.

It has proven impossible (and undesirable) to cite a single explanation for the various subtle and more radical developments observed on the Central Italic burial grounds. Instead, the changes in the various mortuary domains have been regarded as indicative of three major developments. They suggest an altered locus of investment and status expression, an ideological shift, or the desire to stress social and familial ties. As has been shown in Chapter 5, some of the observed changes are symptomatic of more than one development, indicating how difficult it is to interpret the archaeological record in a straightforward way.

The three trends described above must have been deeply bound up with the two major developments that occurred during this period, namely the processes of urbanisation and state formation, eventually culminating in the city-state. The increasing urbanisation of the Central Italian settlements opened up a new arena for the ventilation of status and wealth. While a local, urban identity was advancing, elite families were able to express their status outside of the funerary domain by investing resources in highly visible urban structures such as temples and other public buildings that presumably benefitted the common good. The noted shifting locus of cultic activities may further have been caused by the fact that the *gens*, represented by the *patronus*, took on religious responsibilities from the end of the 7th century BC onwards, and moved religious activities to the urban centre, where the elite resided. As a result, the cultic activities adopted an increasingly public character.

The shifting ideological attitude towards death, the dead and the afterlife is possibly related to urbanisation and state formation as well; former 'primitive' concepts, like the idea that the dead lived on inside the tomb, may have been overcome as the result of new 'urban' religious concepts, such as the belief in an afterlife and in an alienable spirit.

The increasing emphasis on the small social or familial group noted in the burial grounds is possibly indicative of an altered social organisation of the (urban) communities. People may have felt a need to strengthen the ties within the small group they pertained to, because of social tensions that were being felt as new social groups had emerged during the regal period, which were above all concerned with their survival. Inside the larger *gens*, smaller family units would have tried to distinguish themselves by means of talent and wealth, possibly in an attempt to prevent the *gens* from acting as a unified body.

This research has benefitted a great deal from the readily available data from the excavations performed

by the GIA and the SSBAR at the burial grounds of Crustumerium. Unfortunately, the overall number of Central-Italian IVB/Archaic tombs is still very small, impeding a region-wide analysis of the changing burial customs. Even though the amount of tombs that was being created during this timeframe may have been limited, an even smaller amount has so far appeared in scholarly publications. An increasing awareness of the characteristics of the tombs dating to this period and a realisation of the importance of the developments they reflect, will hopefully result in an increasing number of published contexts and a greater share of attention being paid to this period.

Whilst this dissertation has primarily focussed on the burial data of Crustumerium, it is the aim of future publications as part of the NWO project "The people and the state" to incorporate the political context of 7th and 6th century BC Crustumerium into the discussion of the archaeological dataset, placing special emphasis on the position of the site in relation to the expanding city of Rome.

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

De Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode (ca. 650 - 500 voor Christus) in Centraal-Italië werden lange tijd als obscuur gekarakteriseerd, omdat slechts een klein aantal graven aan deze periode kon worden toegeschreven en omdat de graven die wel uit deze periode dateerden over het algemeen maar heel weinig grafgiften herbergden. Het lopende onderzoek naar de grafvelden rondom de Latiale nederzetting Crustumerium (uitgevoerd door de *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma* en het Groninger Instituut voor Archeologie) heeft tot nu toe echter al een groot aantal IVB en Archaïsche graven blootgelegd, waardoor het mogelijk werd om de grafgebruiken in detail te onderzoeken en zodoende licht te werpen op deze 'donkere' periode.

Het voorliggende proefschrift is opgebouwd uit vijf hoofdstukken. Na een korte introductie op de archeologische site Crustumerium, volgt in hoofdstuk 1 een beknopte uiteenzetting van de onderzoeksgeschiedenis van de grafvelden, waarvan Cisterna Grande, Monte Del Bufalo en Sasso Bianco de belangrijkste zijn. Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de in dit werk gehanteerde theorie en methodologie en zoomt daarbij in op vier zogenaamde *mortuary domains*, te weten het domein van de grafconstructie, de plaatsing van het graf in het grafveld, het lichaam en ten slotte het domein van de grafinhoud. Ook komen verstorende factoren die van invloed zijn op de onderzoeksresultaten (de zogenaamde *biases*) kort aan bod. Hoofdstuk 3 bevat een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de archeologische dataset, alsmede een beschrijving van de veranderingen die optreden in het grafritueel in de Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode. Het hoofdstuk behandelt de vier eerdergenoemde domeinen één voor één en vergelijkt de gegevens van de verschillende grafvelden rondom Crustumerium onderling. In hoofdstuk 4 worden de ontwikkelingen zoals die in Crustumerium zijn waargenomen vergeleken met de veranderingen in het grafritueel in het grotere gebied Centraal Italië (hier gedefinieerd als bestaande uit Latium Vetus, Zuid-Etrurië, het Faliskisch en het Sabijns gebied). Ook dit hoofdstuk is geordend op basis van de vier genoemde domeinen. In hoofdstuk 5 wordt ten slotte getracht de waargenomen ontwikkelingen en veranderingen te verklaren tegen de achtergrond van de sociaal-politieke processen die zich in deze periode voordeden.

De discussie rondom de oorzaken of redenen voor de teruggang van de funeraire rijkdom, heeft zich lange tijd gecentreerd rondom de anti-weeldewetgeving, vastgelegd op de Twaalf Tafelen. Deze tafelen, die het uitgangspunt zouden vormen voor de latere Romeinse wetgeving, bevatten een lijst van regels en voorschriften over onder andere de rechtspraak, het gebruik van de publieke ruimte, het huwelijk en het grafritueel. De wetten met betrekking tot het grafritueel waren genoteerd op de Tiende Tafel. De wetten lijken met name gericht op het beperken van de verstoring van de sociale orde door begrafenisoptochten, maar maken ook melding van het verbod op de bijzetting van bepaalde grafgiften. Vooral door dit laatste aspect is de uitgifte van de Tafelen vaak beschouwd als de reden voor de teruggang van de grafgiften.

Een problematisch aspect van dit verklaringsmodel is het feit dat de wetten pas rond het midden van de vijfde eeuw voor Christus werden uitgevaardigd, terwijl de veranderingen in de grafrituelen zich al aan het eind van de zevende eeuw voor Christus voordeden. Daarnaast blijkt uit de analyse van de grafveldgegevens uit Crustumerium, dat een groot aantal regels dat op de Tiende Tafel is geformuleerd ofwel niet kon worden getraceerd in het archeologisch archief, of er zelfs door werd tegengesproken. Sterker nog, de analyse van de funeraire gegevens uit de Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode lijkt eerder te suggereren dat er in deze periode aan geen enkele regulering of voorschrift hoefde te worden voldaan.

De studie van de graven uit Crustumerium heeft verder aangetoond dat de teruggang van de funeraire rijkdom slechts een van de vele veranderingen was die optraden in de Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode. De wijzigingen in de grafgebruiken traden op in de vier *mortuary domains* die hierboven zijn beschreven. Wat betreft de graven zelf zijn de meest belangrijke veranderingen de introductie van het meer ruimtelijke kamergraf (midden zevende eeuw voor Christus) en de versobering van de architectuur van de bestaande architectonische types. Daar waar de kamergraven ruimte boden aan meer dan een begraving, werden de loculi in de traditionele graven - bedoeld voor het huizen van de dode - juist steeds kleiner. De sluitsystemen in deze

graven hadden vaak een geïmproviseerd karakter en bestonden uit hergebruikte materialen die tot een slordige stapel werden opgehoopt.

Het meest opvallende aspect van de plaatsing van de latere graven in het grafveld is dat ze vaak werden gesitueerd binnen een bestaande distributie van graven, waardoor ze oudere graven af en toe (gedeeltelijk) doorsneden. Slechts een klein aantal graven werd op een klaarblijkelijk nog onontgonnen terrein uitgehouwen (zoals op het grafveld Cisterna Grande), waar nauwelijks vroeger daterende graven zijn aangetroffen.

Een andere opvallende ontwikkeling wat betreft de positionering van de graven op de grafvelden is de toenemende variatie in de oriëntatie van de tombes in de Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode. De meest in het oog springende verandering in de grafgebruiken is echter de teruggang van de grafrijkdom. Niet alleen nam de omvang van het banketservies sterk af, het aantal persoonlijke objecten dat de doden vergezelde daalde ook. De tombes die uit de laatste periode van de grafvelden dateren, bevatten zelfs geen enkele grafgift meer.

Wat betreft de behandeling van de dode in het graf zijn er ook een paar opvallende aspecten waar te nemen. Door de introductie van de ruimtelijke kamergraven nam het aantal graven waarin meer dan één dode werd bijgezet sterk toe, maar kwamen ook secundair gedeponeerde begravingen veel vaker voor; om ruimte te maken voor een nieuwe bijzetting, werden eerdere deposities vaak geruimd of verplaatst. Uit het feit dat in twee kamergraven een urn is gevonden met crematieresten, blijkt dat het crematieritueel in deze periode (weer) af en toe werd uitgevoerd.

De vele meer en minder subtiele veranderingen in de grafgebruiken die uit de analyse van de funeraire gegevens zijn gedestilleerd, zijn in dit onderzoek geschaard onder drie grotere, overkoepelende ontwikkelingen, namelijk de teruggang van investering in het funeraire domein, de transformatie van funeraire tradities en de clustering van tombes en begravingen. Een vergelijkende studie van de funeraire data van andere grafvelden in Centraal-Italië heeft aangetoond dat veel van de veranderingen die in Crustumerium zijn waargenomen ook op andere grafvelden optraden, wat doet vermoeden dat de veranderingen in de omgang met de doden het lokale niveau ontstegen en dat ze veroorzaakt moeten zijn door grotere, regionale ontwikkelingen. In dit onderzoek worden de drie overkoepelende ontwikkelingen geïnterpreteerd als teken van een veranderende locus van investering voor statusexpressie, als aanwijzing voor een ideologische verandering, en als bewijs voor het verlangen sociale en familiale banden te benadrukken.

Deze ontwikkelingen moeten nauw verbonden zijn geweest met de twee belangrijkste trends die zich in deze periode voordeden, namelijk urbanisatie en staatsformatie, uiteindelijk uitmondend in de opkomst van de stadstaat.

De toegenomen urbanisatie van Centraal-Italische nederzettingen bood een nieuwe arena voor het tentoonspreiden van status en rijkdom. Terwijl zich een lokale, urbane identiteit begon te vormen, konden elitefamilies hun status nu buiten het funeraire domein tonen, door te investeren in de oprichting van goed zichtbare, urbane structuren zoals tempels en andere publieke gebouwen die ten goede kwamen aan de hele gemeenschap.

De waargenomen verschuiving van cultusactiviteiten, hing mogelijk samen met het feit dat de *gens*, vertegenwoordigd door de *patronus*, religieuze verantwoordelijkheden op zich nam vanaf het eind van de 7de eeuw voor Christus en zodoende de religieuze activiteiten verplaatste naar de urbane centra waar de elite resideerde. Mede als gevolg daarvan kregen de cultusactiviteiten een steeds publieker karakter.

De veranderde ideologische houding ten opzichte van de dood, de doden en het hiernamaals is mogelijk ook gerelateerd aan de processen van urbanisatie en staatformatie. Vroegere 'primitieve' concepten, zoals de idee dat de dode voortleefde in de tombe, zijn later mogelijk verlaten omdat men meer 'urbane' religieuze concepten adopteerde, zoals het geloof in een hiernamaals en in een ziel.

De toegenomen nadruk op de kleine sociale of familiale groep die is waargenomen in de grafvelden, duidt mogelijk op een veranderde sociale organisatie van de (urbane) gemeenschappen. Binnen de grotere gens-groep zouden kleinere familie-eenheden hebben geprobeerd zich te onderscheiden door middel van rijkdom en talent, mogelijk in een poging om te verhinderen dat de clan als een verenigde organisatie kon optreden.

Dit onderzoek heeft zich met name gebaseerd op de opgravingsgegevens van Crustumerium, vergaard door de SSBAR en het GIA. Helaas is het totale aantal Centraal-Italische graven dat in de Latiale periode IVB en de Archaïsche periode dateert nog steeds heel klein, waardoor het moeilijk is om een grotere, regionale studie uit te voeren naar de veranderende grafgebruiken. Alhoewel het aantal tombes dat gedurende deze periode is gecreëerd mogelijk vrij klein was, is een nog veel kleiner gedeelte van deze graven tot op heden gepubliceerd. Een toenemend bewustzijn van de karakteristieken van de graven die in deze periode dateren en het besef van het belang van de ontwikkelingen die ze reflecteren, zal hopelijk leiden tot een groter aantal gepubliceerde contexten en meer aandacht voor deze interessante periode.

Appendix 1

TOMB TYPOLOGY

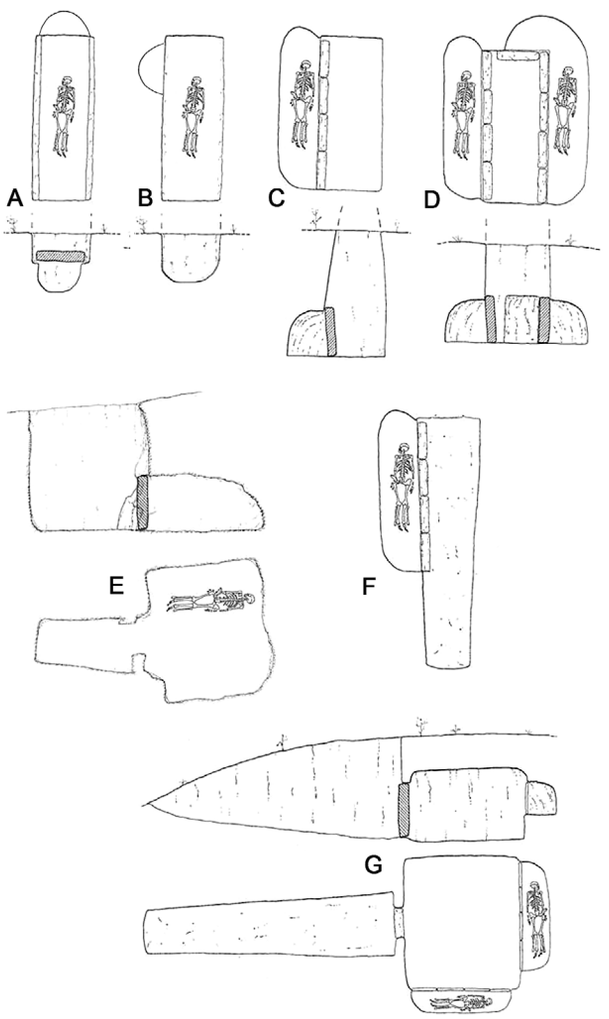

Figure A1.1 Seriation of the tomb types identified at Crustumerium (A: fossa tomb with head niche, B: fossa tomb with lateral niche, C: loculus tomb (tipo Narce), D: double loculus tomb (tipo Montarano), E: chamber tomb, F: dromos with loculus (tipo Monte Michele), G: chamber tomb with loculi (Belelli Marchesini 2013, fig. 3).

Fossa tomb

The fossa tomb is the oldest tomb type at Crustumerium that was designed to house inhumation burials; it occurred from Latial period IIB2 onwards.[983] The architecture of this tomb type consists of a small rectangular trench and usually has slightly rounded short sides. In these tombs the burials were being deposited directly on the floor of the fossa, without any form of protection (such as a coffin). The individuals buried inside these tombs were generally accompanied by a modest *parure* and a small 4 to 5 banqueting vessels, which were mostly placed alongside the body.[984]

Fossa tomb with apsidal niche

Around the transition from Latial period III to IV the fossa tomb was slightly enlarged and elaborated with a small apsidal niche.[985] The niche was designed to hold the banqueting set, even though some vessels were still being placed inside the fossa itself.[986]

The burial was generally deposited inside a coffin or tree trunk placed inside a small trench in the floor of the fossa, which was covered with at least four horizontally placed closing slabs, resting on small lateral ridges.[987] In the early examples the niche was located on a higher level than the deposition and it was usually closed off with one or more vertically placed tuff slabs.[988]

After the deposition of the body, the trench was intentionally filled to ground level,[989] either with tuff rubble or with larger tuff chunks.[990]

The fossa tombs with an apsidal niche are believed to have pertained to individuals of a rather high social standing, since the graves contained large banqueting sets (referring to the ceremonial consumption of wine), and because the dead bodies were accompanied by an elaborate *parure*.[991]

In the slightly later dating examples of this tomb type the niche was located on the same level as the floor of the deposition, or on a slightly lower level.[992]

983 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 102; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

984 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 4-5.

985 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

986 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 103.

987 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5-6.

988 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 5; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15.

989 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 10.

990 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 6.

991 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 15-16.

992 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 104.

The deposition could still be covered with horizontal tuff slabs, but they were no longer always present.[993]

The tomb type remained in use until the middle of the 7th century BC, and possibly even a little longer.[994]

Fossa tomb with lateral niche

Fossa tombs furnished with a small lateral niche at the head end appear during the first half of the 7th century BC. The trenches of these tombs are somewhat larger and deeper than those of the fossa tombs with an apsidal niche.[995] The niches are generally located on the floor level of the fossa and were often closed off with small tuff blocks or chunks. It has been noted that the number of banqueting vessels placed inside these niches was relatively small and that the burials deposited in this type of tombs were mostly accompanied by a limited number of personal objects, if any at all.[996]

The fossa tombs with a lateral niche are not as numerous as the fossa tombs with an apsidal niche; they have only rarely been attested.[997]

Loculus tomb tipo Narce

One of the best represented tomb types is the loculus tomb that appeared on the burial grounds of Crustumerium at the end of the 8th century BC[998] and has remained in use until at least 630-620 BC, but probably lasted even longer.[999] It is referred to as *tipo Narce*, since this type of tomb architecture has been most frequently attested at the burial grounds of this settlement.[1000]

The architecture of these tombs consists of a rectangular caditoia (with standardised dimensions) and a loculus in one of the lateral walls. The loculus can be just as long as the caditoia, but it can also be shorter or longer. In most tombs of this type, the loculus embraces (part of) the short side of the caditoia. The loculus is generally closed off with large, tuff slabs, placed vertically inside the tomb, resting on the ceiling of the loculus; four slabs covered the lateral wall, one (perpendicular to the others) covered the short end.

The banqueting set is often placed in the semi-circular head end. The burial is located inside the loculus, often contained in a coffin or tree trunk, in supine position.[1001] According to Belelli Marchesini, the loculus tombs dating to the first half of the 7th century BC contained individuals of a medium-high social position, who did not explicitly expose their wealth, but rather their pertinence to a certain social class.[1002]

The loculus is either situated on the same level as the caditoia, or a little higher or lower. The floor of the caditoia can be sloping down towards the loculus, or it can be furnished with a small step.[1003]

T he loculus tombs dating to the second half of the 7th century BC were no longer furnished with an apsidal niche and their closing systems were generally quite rough. The later dating tombs were rather superficial and had reduced dimensions.[1004]

Loculus tomb tipo Montarano

Tombs with a loculus on both lateral sides are referred to as *tipo Montarano* graves, named after the burial ground where they have been identified most frequently. At Crustumerium the tomb type is rather uncommon; to date, only a few examples have been identified at the burial grounds surrounding the settlement. The individuals buried inside the loculi were either male and female, or of the same gender.[1005]

Tipo Monte Michele tomb

Tipo Monte Michele tombs appear from the last quarter of the 7th century BC onwards. They consist of a long dromos that slopes down towards the level of the loculus, which is cut out inside one of the lateral walls and generally closed off with tuff blocks. The banqueting set, if present, is placed inside the loculus, at the head end.

Most examples of this tomb type have been identified at the Sasso Bianco burial ground. More recently at least one Monte Michele tomb has been found at the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground.[1006]

Chamber tomb

The chamber tomb appears at the burial grounds of Crustumerium around the middle of the 7th century BC. The earliest examples were furnished with a rectangular caditoia that led into a more or less square

993 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 104.
994 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 103.
995 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 104.
996 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 104-105.
997 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 104.
998 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 16; Belelli Marchesini 2013, 105.
999 Belelli Marchesini 2013, 105.
1000 di Gennaro 2007b; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 105.
1001 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 107.
1002 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 107.
1003 Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 106.
1004 Belelli Marchesini & Pantano in press, 18.
1005 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 16.
1006 MDB/T320 is a Monte Michele tomb. The loculus had been closed off with tiles. Another possible example is MDB/T336, excavated in the summer of 2013. The loculus of this tomb had also been closed off with tiles. As a result of erosion due to ploughing the top part of the tomb has been destroyed. It is therefore impossible to know whether the tomb was furnished with a caditoia or with a dromos. The fact that one of the short ends of the tomb had a sloping profile suggests the latter.

chamber that was only about 70-80 cm high.[1007] The (decentral) entrance to the chamber was generally closed off with tuff blocks. The burials were placed directly on the floor of the chamber, accompanied by a number of personal objects and by vessels pertaining to the banqueting set.[1008]

The plan of the chamber was later elaborated with one or more benches to receive the burials and its size was 'normalised'.[1009] From the end of the 7th century BC onwards, the chambers were often furnished with loculi that were closed off with four or five tiles.[1010] The (sometimes stepped) caditoia were later being replaced by dromoi which either slopeddown towards the entrance to the chamber or were furnished with steps.

The later dating chamber tombs generally yield a very limited amount of grave gifts.

1007 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 12; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 109.
1008 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 12; di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 109-110.
1009 Belelli Marchesini 2008, 13; Belelli Marchesini 2013a, 110.
1010 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 17.

Appendix 2

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FUNCTION OF BANQUETING OBJECTS

This appendix contains an overview of the various different (banqueting) vessels that have been identified in the tombs at Crustumerium and that have been incorporated in this publication. The attribution of functions to the objects is based on the morphological characteristics of the vessels and on the ideas formulated by other scholars. Most vessels are believed to have been used for drinking, eating or storing food or liquids. However, since the contents of the vessels have not been analysed, the reconstruction of their function remains hypothetical.[1011] In addition, the *function* of a vessel may differ from the way it was actually *used* in practice, or, in other words, the *intended* use may differ from the *actual* use.[1012]

Nevertheless, in order to shed light on the changing burial customs of the IVB/Archaic period, it is essential to understand how the character of the banqueting assemblages changed. Even though the function of the vessels cannot be established with certainty, the categorisation of the vessels does provide a starting point for the study of the alterations in the funerary domain.

The unguentaria have not been adopted in the overview of the functional reconstruction, because they are not considered to have formed part of the banqueting set. Although there are examples from other sites in Latium Vetus where aryballoi or alabastra were found among the vessels forming the banqueting assemblage, in the Crustumerium tombs these small containers are almost always found in the vicinity of the deceased, and never inside the niche containing the banqueting set.

1 Drinking

The drinking ceremony probably constituted an important part of the banqueting ritual, since the function of most vessels is related to drinking. The overarching category 'drinking' has been split up into a number of sub-categories; mixing, mixing/storing, pouring/storing, drinking, drinking/offering a drink, drinking/passing a drink around and drinking/scooping. Each sub-category lists the vessels that have been attributed to it.

1.1 Mixing

Tazza cratere

The tazza cratere is believed to have functioned as a bowl for mixing of wine and water and is generally associated with female burials, suggesting that women played an important role in the distribution of wine.[1013] At Crustumerium the tazze cratere do not reach the enormous size that has been encountered at Castel di Decima and Acqua Acetosa.[1014] However, the examples at Crustumerium are too large and heavy for ladling or drinking.[1015]

1.2 Mixing/storing

Olla

The Orientalising impasto rosso olla is considered a *vaso da banchetto* and is generally associated with storing or mixing liquids,[1016] more specifically wine[1017] and water.[1018] However, some scholars believe that the olla may have fulfilled other purposes as well, such as storing food products like olives and cereals.[1019] Based on the fact that olle generally occur in female tombs, sometimes furnished with a dedication to the hostess, may indicate the women played an important role in the banqueting ritual.[1020]

Olla a coppette

The olla a coppette (or olla a piattelli as it is sometimes called) is an olla with three or four small cups fastened on its shoulder. Even though the function of the cups fastened on the shoulder of the olla is not

1011 The only exception is the analysis performed on the contents of a bronze basin from MDB/T071. The vessel contained a greyish paste that turned out to contain elements of boiled milk products, possibly from some sort of a porridge (analysis by the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

1012 As has been stressed by Rice (Rice 1996, 139-140). The text cites some examples from the investigations at the burial grounds of Crustumerium in which the actual use of a vessel clearly differs from its intended use.

1013 Zevi 1977, 268; Bartoloni 2003, 127; Bedini 2006, 468.

1014 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 8-9.

1015 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 9.

1016 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 319.

1017 Falzone 2001, 188, note 18.

1018 De Lucia Brolli & Benedettini 2000, 31; Bartoloni & Taloni 2009, 306.

1019 Ten Kortenaar 2009, 326 citing Micozzi 1994, 40.

1020 Rathje 1994, 283.

entirely clear, it is probable that the olla played an important role in the symposium ritual. According to di Gennaro, the little cups could have been used as a holder for the small tazzine, to prevent spilling wine when the tazzina was brought to the *tazza potoria*.[1021] Others believe, however, that the cups on the shoulder held spices or grated cheese to make *kukeon*, a special drink described in the *Iliad* (XI, 628-643) made of wine and goat cheese.[1022] According to Bedini, the olla a coppette is typical for female burials and suggests that women played an important role in the distribution of wine.[1023]

Olla biansata
The function of the olla with two horizontal (obliquely placed) handles would have differed slightly from the 'regular' olla.[1024] Since the olla with handles frequently occurs together with one or two olle without handles, it is assumed that the olla biansata was used to pour wine or water into the other olla.[1025]

1.3 Pouring/storing

Anforetta (laziale or a spirali)
It is generally believed that the anforetta served to store and pour liquids.[1026] Some believe that the vase was used for wine;[1027] others think that it may have contained water.[1028] Because there are many examples of tombs in which *anforette* have been smashed and dispersed over the surface, it is believed that they may have been used for libation offerings as well.[1029]

Oinochoe
The vertical handle and the *bocca trilobata* of the oinochoe make this vessel very suitable for pouring liquids.[1030] It has been suggested that oinochoai of different made of different wares and occurring within one banqueting set, may have contained different kinds of liquids.[1031]

Olpe/Olpetta
It is assumed that the function of the olpe (or olpetta) was similar to that of the brocca; its morphological characteristics suggest that it was well-suited for the pouring of liquids.[1032]

1.4 Personal drinking cup

Kotyle
The kotyle probably functioned as a personal cup to drink from,[1033] and it is believed that it expressed the status of the person using it at a banquet.[1034]

1.5 Drinking/offering a drink

Calice (su alto piede)
Because the calice has no handles, it is believed that it was used for pouring drinks, instead of as a cup to drink from.[1035] It has also been suggested that the cup was used especially for the presentation of wine. At Osteria dell'Osa and Poggio Civitate there are examples of *calici* that were covered with a lid,[1036] suggesting that they could have been used as containers for (warm?) food stuffs or liquids as well.

1.6 Drinking/passing a drink around

Tazza/tazzina biansata
Since the tazza or tazzina with two handles found at Crustumerium often contained a (miniature) tazzina-attingitoio, it is believed that the tazza functioned as a drinking cup.[1037] Some believe that it was a prestigious drinking vessel that was being passed around.[1038]

Kantharos
The kantharos is believed to have functioned as a drinking cup that was being passed around as well.[1039] At Crustumerium, the bucchero kantharos seems to replace the tazza, since just as the tazze, the kantharoi often contained a small tazzina-attingitoio.[1040]

1.7 Drinking/scooping

Attingitoio (a botticella)/Boccale
The attingitoio and boccale are believed to have been destined for individual use, namely for ladling and drinking.[1041] Since this type of vessels is

1021 di Gennaro 1990a, 70, note 31.
1022 Acconcia 2004, 123.
1023 Bedini 2006, 468.
1024 Ten Kortenaar 2009, 328.
1025 Acconcia 2004, 123.
1026 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 241-242.
1027 Bartoloni & Taloni 2009, 306.
1028 De Lucia Brolli & Benedettini 2000, 31-32; Cerchiai 1990, 11.
1029 This practice has been noted for several funerary areas of Latium Vetus (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 242).
1030 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 324-325.
1031 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 325.
1032 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 330.
1033 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 338; Cerchiai 1990, 11.
1034 Cerchiai 1990, 31, note 60.
1035 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 345-346.
1036 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 346.
1037 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 9.
1038 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 332-333.
1039 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 333.
1040 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 9.
1041 Experiments have shown that these vessels are suited for both activities (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 273-274).

sometimes found in the vicinity of the deposition, it is assumed that they formed part of the personal possessions of the deceased.[1042]

The boccale generally has a small vertical ring handle, attached to the rim and the widest part of the body, whilst the attingitoio has a vertical, *raised* band handle which is also attached to the rim and the body. The differential shape of the handle suggests that the attingitoio was better suited for ladling, hence its name.[1043]

Olpe (-attingitoio)
The olpe is mostly executed in bucchero and it is believed that this vessel replaced the impasto attingitoio,[1044] suggesting that it was used for drinking/scooping as well.

Tazzina-attingitoio
Just as the attingitoio, the tazzina-attingitoio would have been well-suited for ladling, because it is furnished with an elevated handle. It is believed that the small cups were used to scoop liquids from a large container (for example an olla) into the personal drinking cup.[1045] The fact that (miniature) tazzine-attingitoio have frequently been found inside larger tazze seems to confirm this idea.[1046] Since large numbers of tazzine are sometimes found grouped around one olla, suggests that all partakers in the banquet used their own tazzina for ladling.[1047]

Studies of the capacity of these vessels have shown that the tazzina-attingitoio occurred in three different size ranges, suggesting that they may have been used for measuring out quantities of wine and water.[1048]

2 Eating
The number of vessels to which a function related to eating has been attributed, is considerably smaller than the amount of vessels with a function related to drinking, as the overview provided below will show.

2.1 Eating

Piatto (su piede)
The piatto formed part of the tableware and possibly functioned as a plate to eat from.[1049]
The Etrusco-Corinthian type of plate encountered in the chamber of MDB/T032[1050] is very common in central Italy in the first half of the 6th century BC. There are indications that this vessel was used for libation offerings.[1051]

Ciotola
The small ciotola, executed in impasto rosso or depurated ware is believed to have been used as a saucer to eat from.[1052] The fact that a ciotola has been found on top of the neck of an anforetta laziale in the head niche of one tomb at Crustumerium,[1053] suggests that it could also have functioned as a lid. The two holes which are usually pierced through the rim or the wall of the ciotola may have been used to suspend it from the wall, or to attach it to another vessel (for example the handle of an anforetta).[1054]

Bacino (su alto piede)
The bacino or bacile is a large, wide, almost hemispherical container. The vessel is generally regarded as *vasellame da mensa* (tableware), but its exact function is unknown.[1055] The bacino on a high foot probably had a function similar to the ones on a flat base, but the high foot version may have been especially designed for the *presentation* of food.

2.2 Eating/covering

Scodella (crustumina)
The scodella is believed to have functioned as a bowl or nap for individual use, to eat solid or semi-liquid food products from.[1056] Proof of this theory is provided by a scodella found in MDB/T217 which contained the typical white paste that is possibly indicative of porridge.[1057]

The fact that the scodelle found at Crustumerium (the so-called scodelle crustumine) were furnished

1042 There are, however, many examples of Crustumerium tombs in which the attingitoio or boccale occurs among the other vessels of the banqueting set, suggesting that it may alternatively have formed an integral part of this assemblage.
1043 Personal communication Belelli Marchesini 2011.
1044 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 9.
1045 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 279-281.
1046 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 9.
1047 di Gennaro 1993, 94-95; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9-10.
1048 Togninelli 2009, 211-214; Belelli Marchesini 2008, 9-10.
1049 Micozzi 1994, 56-57.
1050 See the Tomb Catalogue.
1051 Gabrielli 2010, 449-450, note 26.
1052 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 342.
1053 Namely MDB/T289 (see the Tomb Catalogue).
1054 As suggested by Belelli Marchesini, personal communication 2011.
1055 Micozzi 1994, 66.
1056 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 300-301. According to Bietti Sestieri the vessel would have been used by all age classes and by males and females (Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 301).
1057 See note 994.

with a decoration pattern on the bottom, suggests that they may (also) have functioned as a lid.[1058]

2.3 Storing solid food/liquids

Olletta stamnoide
The oletta stamnoide is believed to have been used for storage of solid food products.[1059] The fact that many ollette have been found covered with a lid, suggest it that they may have contained warm food stuffs.

Pisside
A small number of *pissidi* has been found at Crustumerium.[1060] The large impasto rosso vessels, furnished with a lid, have been frequently attested at Cerveteri, where they were used as cinerary urns.[1061] However, since the *pissidi* found at Crustumerium were placed in the head niche of a tomb, in between the banqueting vessels, and since one *pisside* was stacked on top of the other, it is very unlikely that they were used as cinerary urns.

It seems more probable that the vessels were used for storing (warm) solid food or liquids.

2.4 Presentation

Holmos
The holmos is generally believed to have functioned as a stand on which an olla or tazza was placed, presumably during the banquet or symposium ritual.[1062] It has been suggested that *holmoi* are indicative of high-status female burials.[1063] Only one holmos has been found at Crustumerium to date, namely in the head niche of MDB/TT232.[1064]

3 Food preparation

Tripode (a bacinella)
The function of the tripode is not entirely clear. Whereas some scholars believed that it was used to boil meat in,[1065] others have suggested that it may have been used for the mixing of wine and water.[1066] The former theory has been followed in the present publication.

3.1 Preparation/distribution

Knife
The knife is not a banqueting vessel, but since it has often been found among the items pertaining to the banqueting set, it should be regarded as a banqueting object. It is generally believed that the knives that are being found amidst the banqueting assemblage were used to cut meat,[1067] and as such they played a role in the preparation and distribution of food.

1058 di Gennaro & Belelli Marchesini 2010, 8.
1059 Bietti Sestieri 1992a, 323.
1060 di Gennaro 2006a; di Gennaro 2006c, 229; Amoroso 2002a, 37-38.
1061 Micozzi 1994, 25-26.
1062 Micozzi 1994, 51; Benedettini 1999, 3-5.
1063 Beijer 1990, 22.
1064 See the Tomb Catalogue.
1065 He admits that in Homer's work we read that meat is roasted instead of boiled (Bedini 2006, 469).
1066 Delpino 2000, 194. See also Torelli 1989, 303 on the functional ambiguity of these vessels.
1067 Bedini 2006, 469. Delpino differentiates between large knives for cutting the meat (off the bone?) and smaller knives for subdividing the portions (Delpino 2000, 195).

Appendix 3

CALCULATION OF ENERGY EXPENDITURE

Chamber tombs are generally considered as monumental tomb structures and it is believed that the creation of such a tomb required a considerable expenditure of energy, probably more so than a 'normal' fossa or loculus tomb would. In order to test the validity of this assumption, the amount of cubic meters of tuff required for the creation of a loculus tomb and a chamber tomb respectively is calculated in this appendix. The calculations are based on the dimensions of two tombs from the Monte Del Bufalo burial ground MDB/T032 and MDB/T323. MDB/T032 is a chamber tomb that is situated in the *Southern Area*; MDB/T323 is a loculus tomb which is located in the northern *Fossato Area*. The chamber tomb contained four adult burials; the loculus tomb held the remains of an adult female and a small child. The reason why these two tombs have been selected is because their grave construction is relatively well preserved, and because the depths of the entrances of both tombs are comparable.

In order to be able to estimate the amount of cubic meters that must have been hewn out of the tuff bedrock for their creation, both tomb types have been split up in a number of units, each representing a calculable geometric shape of some sort. The loculus tomb MDB/T323 is split up into a rectangular prism (the caditoia), a (quarter of a) cylinder (the loculus) and a (quarter of a) sphere (the apsidal niche). The chamber tomb is split up in to a trapezoidal prism (the dromos), two rectangular prisms (the entrance and the chamber), a quarter of a cylinder (the loculus in the right wall) and a quarter of a sphere (the loculus in the left wall).

Formulas of volume:
Rectangular prism: width · length · depth
Cylinder: $\pi r^2 \cdot$ height
Sphere: $4/3\pi r^3$
Tetrahedron: 1/3 · area (ground plan) · height

Formula of area:
Trapezoid: ½((minimum width + maximum width) · length)

Calculation loculus tomb

The caditoia of MDB/T323 measures ca. 1.30 m (width) · 2.65 m (length) · 1.40 m (depth). The volume of the caditoia thus comes down to about 4.80 m^3. The loculus looks most like a quarter of a cylinder (split lengthwise) and is therefore calculated as follows: $¼(\pi r^2$ x length). R represents the radius of the circle, which is in this case formed by the height/width of the loculus. The volume of the loculus is about 1.50 m^3 (= $¼((\pi(0.80\ m)^2 \cdot 3.00\ m))$.

The apsidal niche looks most like a quarter of a sphere and can therefore be calculated as follows: $¼\ (4/3\pi r^3) = 1/3\pi r^3$. The radius is formed by the height/width of the niche. The volume of the niche is about 0.07 m^3 (= $1/3\pi(0.40\ m)^3$). The total holding capacity of the tomb comes down to 6.35 m^3.

Calculation chamber tomb

The chamber of the tomb measures ca. 2.70 m (width) · 2.40 m (length) · 1.55 m (height). The volume of the chamber (without the loculi) comes down to about 10.00 m^3. The entrance of the chamber is 0.40 m deep, 0.80 m wide and ca. 1.00 m high,[1068] adding up to a volume of 0.32 m^3.

Just as the loculus of MDB/T323 the right loculus inside the chamber is regarded as a quarter of a cylinder. Its volume comes down to about 0.75 m^3 (= $¼(\pi(0.70\ m)^2 \cdot 1.95\ m)$. The left niche, on the other hand is semi-circular its volume can therefore best be calculated by regarding it as a quarter of a sphere (just as the apsidal niche of MDB/T323). The volume of the left loculus is about 0.36 m^3 (= $1/3\pi(0.70\ m)^3$).

The total volume of the chamber (= chamber + entrance + left loculus + right loculus) comes down to about 11.43 m^3.

The volume of the dromos is a bit more difficult to compute, since it has been dug into a sloping hill. The volume cannot simply be calculated by multiplying the area of the ground plan with the depth of the dromos (1.15 m) and dividing the outcome by two, because the dromos widens towards the back and the calculation would then result in a too small volume. Instead, one has to break the ground plan up into one rectangle (1.10 · 3.45 m) and two triangles (base 0.175, height 3.45 m). The volume of the diagonally

1068 The top part of the entrance has not been preserved. The height of the entrance therefore represents a guestimate, which is based on the total height of the stacked closing blocks.

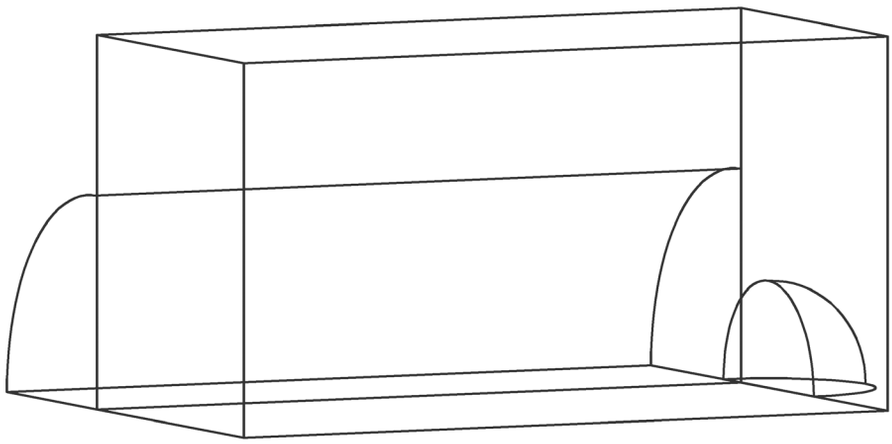

Figure A3.1 Schematic 3D representation of MDB/T322, showing the geometric shapes on which the calculations of volume have been based (illustration by Jaime van der Heul).

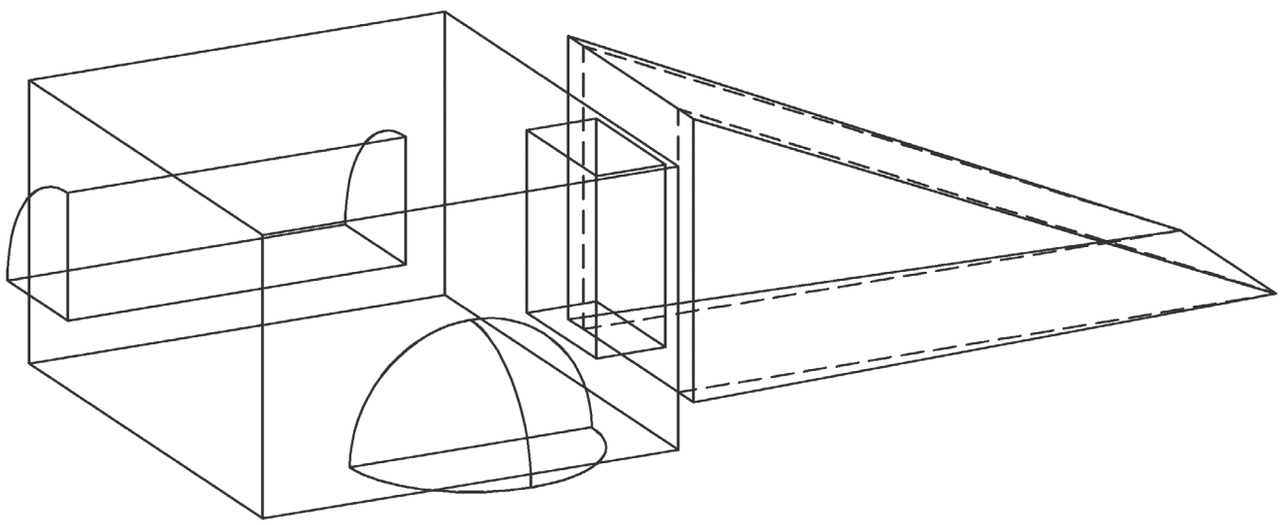

Figure A3.2 Schematic 3D representation of MDB/T032, showing the geometric shapes on which the calculations of volume have been based (illustration by Jaime van der Heul).

cut cuboid measures ½(1.10 · 3.45 · 1.15) = 2.18 m^3, whilst the volume of the two tetrahedrons measures 2(1/3(0.175 · 1.15 · 3.45)) = 0.46 m^3. The total volume of the dromos is about 2.65 m^3.

If the dromos of MDB/T032 would have been just as deep as the caditoia of MDB/T323, its volume is calculated by multiplying the surface of the ground plan with 0.25 m (= depth MDB/T323 (1.40 m) - depth MDB/T032 (1.15 m)), which comes down to 1.10 m^3 and adding this number to the previous total of 2.65 m^3, resulting in a new total of 3.75 m^3.

The total volume of the tomb comes down to 14.10 m^3, or 15.20 m^3 if the dromos would have been just as deep as the caditoia of MDB/T323.

Energy expenditure per deposition

The calculations presented above have shown the total amount of cubic meters of tuff hewn out for the creation of a loculus tomb and a chamber tomb respectively. In order to investigate the amount of energy invested per deposition, the calculated totals should be divided by the total number of burials encountered in each tomb. It has been described above that MDB/T323 contained the remains of an adult female and a very young child. If we take both burials into account, the total amount of m^3 per deposition would come down to 3.18 m^3. However, since most tombs of this type contain only one adult burial, one could state that the energy invested for the burial of one deposition inside a loculus tomb (of 1.40 m deep) generally came down to a total of 6.35 m^3.

Since the chamber tomb MDB/T032 contained as many as four adult depositions, its volume should be divided by four. The amount of cubic meters hewn out per deposition then comes down to about 3.53 m^3, or 3.80 m^3 if the dromos would have been as deep as the caditoia of MDB/T323.

In short, the calculations have demonstrated that the energy invested in the creation of a chamber tomb was considerably larger than the amount invested in the creation of a loculus tomb with a comparable depth. It has, however, also been demonstrated that the amount of m^3 *per deposition* was generally much smaller in the multi-depositional chamber tombs.

Biases

The geometric shapes used in these calculations are simplifications and they therefore do not reflect the morphological nuances of the actual grave constructions. It follows that the outcomes of the calculations represent a guestimate of the holding capacity of the tombs at best. The chamber, for example, is represented as a rectangular prism, whereas in reality the transition from the walls to the ceiling of the chamber was probably a soft, round one, rather than an angular one, resulting in a more dome-like vault and consequently in a smaller volume of the chamber.

Another obvious problem with the calculations is that they are based on a reconstruction of what the individual elements of the grave constructions must have looked like. The height of the ceiling of chamber tomb MDB/T032 is a guestimate, because the actual ceiling has not been preserved. Erosion of the bedrock has also damaged the ceiling and back wall of the loculi in both tombs, and therefore the height/width of these elements is a guestimate as well.

The fact that the two tombs were situated on two different locations within the larger Monte Del Bufalo burial ground, means that they may not have suffered equally from erosion as a result of ploughing;[1069] the entrance of one (or both) of the two tombs may originally have been considerably deeper. Since the ground plan of the dromos covers a much larger area than the ground plan of the caditoia in the loculus tomb (4.40 m^2 versus 3.45 m^2), an increase in the depth of the dromos causes a larger increase in its volume than an increase in the depth of the caditoia would. A 10 cm increase of the depth of the caditoia, for example, results in a 0.35 m^3 increase of the caditoia volume of loculus tomb MDB/T323, whereas the same increase in the depth of the dromos of MDB/T032 results in a 0.45 m^3 increase of dromos volume.

1069 See Chapter 2, *2.3 Biases*; *2.3.2 Post-depositional processes*; *Erosion* and Chapter 3, *3.3 Placement in the burial ground*; *3.3.2 Monte Del Bufalo – Fossato Area.*